

THE AUTHORITY OF ENNIUS AND THE *ANNALES* IN CICERO'S PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS

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Contents

Acknowledgements.....	3
Introduction	4
 CHAPTER 1: Authority	 11
What is a literary <i>auctor</i> ?	13
Sources of authority in Cicero's works	17
Conclusion	23
 CHAPTER 2: Borrowed Authority: The importance of Cicero's speakers....	 24
Direct involvement of the speaker: Cato and the <i>De Senectute</i>	26
Attribution of quotations to figures from the poem: Pyrrhus and the <i>De Officiis</i>	30
Conclusion	40
 CHAPTER 3: The Authority of Knowledge: Ennius at <i>De Re Publica</i>. 1.25....	 43
Implication	44
Association	48
Writing versus Speaking: Explaining Cicero's use of <i>scribo</i>	56
Conclusion	63
 CHAPTER 4: The Authority of Tradition: Ennius in <i>Tusculanae</i> 1.26-8.....	 66
Antiquitas.....	66
Authority via word-order.....	67
Cultural Authority I: Representing Roman tradition.....	69
Cultural Authority II: Transmitting Roman beliefs.....	73
Cultural Authority III: A reliable source for Roman myth	76
One of the <i>optimi auctores</i>	79
<i>Dico</i> , and verbs of speaking	81
<i>Aio</i> and <i>inquam</i>	83
<i>Loquor</i>	85
<i>Dico</i>	86
Conclusion	95
 Conclusion.....	 98
Appendix.....	102
Bibliography.....	103

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Introduction¹

Ennius, the father of Latin hexameter, is the best known of the early Latin epicists. He composed epigrams, comedies, tragedies, and even introduced satire to Roman literature.² It is, however, his epic poem, the *Annales*, that has come to be seen as his *magnum opus*. The *Annales* consisted of eighteen books and covered the history of Rome from its mythical beginnings to Ennius' own day. He spurned the Saturnian meter used by his epic predecessors, Livius Andronicus and Gnaeus Naevius, instead becoming the first Latin poet to compose an epic with the Greek dactylic hexameter. A work that contained and celebrated the history of Rome, the *Annales* became the national epic and was a fixture in the Roman classroom, influencing generations of Latin poets.³ It held pride of place as the national epic from its composition in the early second century B.C. to the late first century B.C., when literary taste became more refined, and Virgil's *Aeneid* all but supplanted the *Annales* in resonance and popularity. Only fragments of Ennius' work survive, scattered among the works of philosophers, historians, poets, antiquarians, and grammarians of Latin literature. Of the authors who preserve these fragments, none has had more influence in shaping our understanding of Ennius than the orator and philosopher, Marcus Tullius Cicero, who made extensive use of the *Annales* throughout his corpus. Not only is he the sole source for twenty-one fragments, which accounts for roughly eleven percent of the extant lines, but he has also greatly influenced modern perceptions of the *Annales* as a reliable historical text.⁴ This thesis will focus on the way that Cicero cites Ennius within his philosophical works.

There are twenty-eight *Annales* quotations in Cicero's philosophical works, of which nineteen are introduced as belonging to Ennius, while the remaining nine are cited without any authorial acknowledgement. It is tempting to attribute this lack of authorial acknowledgement simply to an expectation on Cicero's behalf that his readers would be familiar enough with the poem that it would be unnecessary to remind them from which text the quotations had come; however, when one considers

¹ All translations are my own.

² For a short discussion of Ennius' corpus, see Skutsch (1985) 1-7. When referring to verses from the *Annales* (e.g. *Ann.* 110), I am following the arrangement in Skutsch's edition.

³ On Ennius' influence, see p. 12 n. 13 and p. 16 n. 32.

⁴ Elliott (2013) 152ff.

the context in which the acknowledged quotations appear, it becomes apparent that the simplest answer is, in this case, not the best. Of the verses that are not acknowledged as belonging to Ennius, only two are cited as evidence intended to persuade the reader; the rest either provide examples or add poetic imagery to the text. They can be neatly worked into Cicero's own prose,⁵ or used to set the tone of a work or book, such as in the *De Senectute* and Book 5 of the *De Re Publica*. Having taken into account the relative contexts of these citations, it appears that Cicero did not specifically attribute a citation to Ennius unless it was used in argumentative context. A comparison with Cicero's quotation-tendencies in the letters, speeches, and rhetorical works allows a better understanding of his treatment of the *Annales* in his philosophical treatises:

	Attributed to Ennius	Unattributed
Philosophical Works	19	9
Rhetorical Works	3	11 ⁶
Legal Speeches		2
Letters	1	5

Cicero's approach to citation in the philosophical works differs significantly from that of his other works. There is an obvious difference in the ratio of attributed to unattributed citations present in each genre of text. Because the letters are private correspondence to an intimate, it is probable that Cicero rarely appended Ennius' name to quotations because he knew and expected that the recipient would have known the source of the verses and understood any subsequent allusions. This, in my opinion, is not the same for the rhetorical works, which, like the philosophical works, were published for a wider audience. Not only did Cicero use the *Annales* less in the arguments of his rhetorical texts, but he also seems to have been more willing to withhold Ennius' name when quoting him. This, I suggest, is indicative of the

⁵ An example of this method of quotation can be found at *Div.* 1.114, where *Ann.* 207 is incorporated into Cicero's prose with no indication – other than its hexameter composition – that it is a poetic verse: *Eodum enim modo multa a vaticinantibus saepe praedicta sunt, neque solum verbis, sed etiam "versibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant"*.

⁶ While Ennius is not named directly, in some cases it is possible to derive his authorship from either the citation-introduction (*De Orat.* 1.198: *sic appellatus a summo poeta est*) or the context of the work (quotations at *Brut.* 71 and 76 are confirmed as Ennian at *Brut.* 75).

differing nature of the arguments within each genre of text. The philosophical works, in which the *Annales* is often cited in support of a particular idea, focus on the narrative content of the quotations, whereas the rhetorical works, in which the *Annales* is regularly cited to provide examples of archaic Latin usage, generally tend to concentrate more on the grammatical content of each verse. Therefore, in the rhetorical texts, the author of the quoted line is often less relevant to the argument than the content of the citation, thus explaining the relative lack of authorial acknowledgement; conversely, the frequent occurrence of Ennius' name in the philosophical texts reflects the more important role of the author in each argument.

This brings us back to the present thesis and its aim. In his philosophical treatises, Cicero deliberately highlighted Ennian authorship of the verses he excerpted from the *Annales*. He strengthened his arguments by quoting verses that complemented the points he was conveying, all the while taking advantage of the authority of the poet who "codified and canonized"⁷ centuries of Roman tradition. While Ennius is quoted for his knowledge of Roman culture, he is also cited in arguments discussing matters of science or other complex philosophical concepts; it is in these instances that Cicero expands Ennius' areas of authority, making him an authoritative source for a range of philosophical discussions. In many cases he uses the citation-introduction as an opportunity to either assert or construct Ennius' authority, expanding it into realms not previously associated with the great poet. This thesis aims to examine the ways that Cicero uses citation-introductions to build the authority of Ennius, thereby making him the ideal source for the argument in which he is called upon as evidence.

As Cicero is our foremost source for Ennius, it is important to discuss the methods he employed to either construct or manipulate his audience's perception of the poet. In shaping his audience's reception of Ennius' verses, Cicero also shapes our own reception, both within the world of his literary works, and in the wider scope of Roman literary history. Therefore, it is important to analyse the methods by which Ennius' authority is built upon, and to gain a better understanding of how he was used to make the arguments of Cicero's philosophical works more persuasive. In my analysis I shall look not only at the authority-building techniques themselves, but also

⁷ Goldberg (1995) 22.

at the subsequent effect they have on the presentation of one of Rome's most influential literary figures.

Despite the abundance of scholarship on Cicero, and the growing interest in Ennius, there is yet to be a study that focuses specifically on the way in which Cicero portrays Ennius when quoting from the *Annales*. Indeed, James Zetzel in his chapter "The Influence of Cicero on Ennius" has identified the importance of Cicero to our present understanding of Ennius, while Jackie Elliott's recently published *Ennius and the Architecture of the Annales* features an excellent discussion of the reception of Ennius in the pre-Virgilian sources. However, a study that goes beyond anecdotes and closely examines citation-introductions has not yet been conducted. It is this gap in scholarship that I aim to address and hope to stimulate discussion in. By concentrating on the philosophical corpus, in which Ennius is cited more than any other author, I hope to elucidate both the methods used by Cicero to present Ennius as an authoritative source, and the resulting depiction of Ennius as one of the foremost Roman cultural authorities.

Thesis structure

The first chapter of this thesis looks at a term that is central to my arguments: authority. The chapter is divided into two sections, each of which is intended to provide background information for the concept of authority. The first section provides a definition of *auctor*, and considers its application in a literary sense. By comparing Cicero's use of *auctor* to that of medieval writers I trace the evolution of a word that was originally reserved for strictly legal contexts, and also highlight Cicero's progressive use of the term. This section, while brief, is important because it illuminates the type of figure that Cicero strove to present Ennius as. The second section of the chapter turns from the medieval period to Cicero himself, and examines the sources that he believes contribute to one's authority. Because this thesis is concerned with Cicero's construction of Ennius' authority, it is necessary to look at his rhetorical and philosophical works, in order to identify the sources of authority as he presents them. The sources of authority discussed here are significant in later chapters for determining what aspects of authority Cicero is concerned with when he engages in authority-building.

Chapter 2 is likewise comprised of two sections. The focus of this chapter, however, is markedly different, and contains the first discussion of authority-building. The chapter looks at the role of speakers in his treatises, and considers how the reception of a quotation or argument can change depending on whose “mouth” it comes from. The first section examines Cicero’s selection of Cato the Elder as the lead interlocutor of the *De Senectute*, and the exploitation of his authority both to strengthen arguments and to assert the authority of Ennius as a source. In order to do this, I shall pay close attention to the way that each citation from the *Annales* is introduced, looking for keywords or phrases that are indicative of authority-construction. By contrast, the second section examines a passage from the *De Officiis*, in which Cicero has broken with his own tradition, and attributed a line from the *Annales* directly to the figure in the poem who spoke it. To explain both the importance of Cicero’s unique style of citation and establish his reasons for quoting in that manner, I compare this passage to an *Annales* citation in the *Pro Balbo*, a legal speech.

In Chapter 3 I look at the kind of authority-building that appeals primarily to education, wisdom, and *gravitas* as sources of *auctoritas*. The chapter centres on a passage from the *De Re Publica*, in which Ennius is portrayed as a source with an understanding of eclipses, and whose understanding of this scientific phenomenon is a benefit to Rome. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first two sections discuss the two authority-building techniques present in the passage, while the third section provides an analysis of the unique verb use in the citation-introduction. To support my identification of the techniques for constructing authority – “implication” and “association” – I adduce examples of the techniques’ uses in Cicero’s other works. By giving these examples I aim to confirm the existence of the different techniques for asserting authority, while also demonstrating the different contexts in which they are applied. The chapter goes on to explore Cicero’s use of *scribo* as the verb for introducing the quotation. Since it is the only occasion in the entirety of Cicero’s philosophical corpus wherein a verb of writing is used to introduce a piece of poetry, I attempt not only to explain why Cicero has used the verb, but also to explain its significance to the presentation of Ennius and his *Annales* as authoritative for the argument of the *De Re Publica*.

Chapter 4 (the largest) revolves around a long passage in the *Tusculanae Disputationes*. It argues that the authority-building techniques appeal to the authority of tradition and *antiquitas*, establishing Ennius as a Roman cultural authority and an active part of the transmission of Roman cultural beliefs. Like Chapter 3, Chapter 4 discusses each method of authority-construction in turn. The *Tusculanae* passage, like a machine with many moving parts, contains more authority-building techniques than that of the passage examined in Chapter 3, and each technique operates harmoniously to achieve Cicero's goal. Continuing the methodology of Chapter 3, Chapter 4 also looks to citation-introductions from other works as a way to develop and further illustrate the techniques present in the *Tusculanae*. It also features an exploration of the verbs used for introducing citations. While I focus in Chapter 3 on the unique role of *scribo* in the *De Re Publica*, in Chapter 4 I take a more general look at the verb of speaking used most frequently for introducing quoted verses, *dico*. In order to understand the primacy of *dico*, I shall compare the roles of other verbs of speaking used by Cicero when citing the *Annales* to understand its function in the philosophical works better.

Methodology

Before proceeding to my actual analysis, some points regarding methodology are necessary. This study focuses on the ways in which Cicero uses citation-introductions to construct Ennius' authority, and as such, I will forgo any analysis of anecdotal authority-building unless it pertains to the discussion. My reason for this is simple: I am looking at how Cicero presents Ennius as an authority when quoting him as evidence, not when talking about him. Furthermore, while I am primarily concerned with Ennius' depiction in the philosophical works, when necessary I shall call upon the rhetorical works and speeches to corroborate arguments (if a parallel example does not exist in the philosophical texts) or to provide contrasting evidence to illustrate a point. I shall, however, avoid comparing Cicero's treatment of the *Annales* with his treatment of Ennius' tragedies, unless the argument requires it; a study of such magnitude is beyond the scope of this thesis and worthy of its own independent inquiry.

Because I am looking at a limited number of citations, there will be a degree of repetition. Citation-introductions that are examined in Chapter 2 will appear in later chapters, with attention paid to different aspects of authority-building that are present. Likewise, in Chapters 3 and 4, where one particular passage is the focal point, there will be repetition of in-text quotations, as I consider the respective citation-introductions from various angles. I have felt this repetition to be duly necessary, as the alternative would involve a single quotation and a tedious amount of page-turning.

Finally, since I am dealing almost exclusively with the *Annales*, I am limited not only to the works that invoke the poem as evidence, but also to those texts in which Cicero actually engages in authority-building. As a result, it will seem that I am constructing arguments with a scant amount of evidence. The reality of working with fragments, of course, is that there is only scant evidence. Cicero quoted the *Annales* twenty-eight times in his philosophical works, and of that twenty-eight, only twenty-one are used in an argumentative context.⁸ That number is further reduced when we remove those citations that present no authority-construction. This, however, should not be seen as a disadvantage, nor should arguments be seen as wanting. A smaller sample-size allows for more in-depth analysis; furthermore, a supporting example can be found for each instance of authority-construction that I have identified. The philosophical works that will provide the evidence for my arguments are the *De Senectute*, the *De Re Publica*, the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, the *De Divinatione*, the *De Officiis*, and the *De Natura Deorum*.

⁸ The remaining eight citations perform a variety of different functions, more aesthetic than argumentative: *Ann.* 335-9 is quoted in the opening dedication of the *De Senectute*, while *Ann.* 156 is used at the opening of Book 5 of the *De Re Publica*; *Ann.* 302 is cited at *N.D.* 3.24 and *Tusc.* 1.45 for its poetic description of the body of water separating Spain and Africa; *Ann.* 207 appears at *Div.* 1.114 to describe the early Italian metre; *Ann.* 329 is quoted at *Tusc.* 1.45 in a discussion concerning the belief that the soul resides within the heart; *Ann.* 590 is used to illustrate a metaphor at *Rep.* 1.3; *Ann.* 592, an epithet, is called upon at *N.D.* 2.64 as evidence of a title bestowed upon Jupiter by poets.

Chapter 1

What is Authority?

The Roman concept of *auctoritas* is fascinating in its complexity. It encompassed a plurality of meanings, ranging from authority, to influence and prestige. Leonard Krieger, in his seminal article, “The Idea of Authority in the West” uses the Roman Senate as an example of the function of *auctoritas* when he writes that authority “had no legal status and no compulsory force, and yet in fact bound the Roman citizens to compliance far more definitively and extensively than did the other offices of the republic”.⁹ Krieger makes the further observation that authority could be held by those without official power, such as the Senate, and those with official power, such as Augustus, and “in both cases it referred to the same kind of domination – a kind which lay outside the exercise of power”.¹⁰ The “power” to which Krieger refers is *potestas*, a word that appears to have evolved alongside *auctoritas*. Indeed, both *auctoritas* and *potestas* refer to a type of power, although *potestas* operates on a legal level, while *auctoritas* seems to have operate on a more social level. Michèle Lowrie describes the difference similarly, explaining that “both powers are part of the *mos maiorum*, the ‘customs of the ancestors’ that institutionalized political practice, but *potestas* resides in a fixed form, the grant of power for a set period deriving from elected office, while *auctoritas* attaches to the individual rather than the office and is consequently less bound by temporal constraints and more fluid”.¹¹ While *potestas* gives one power over one’s subjects, it would appear that *auctoritas* is conversely granted by one’s subjects, meaning that acceptance and recognition of one’s authority is crucial for one’s status as an authority. This can be brought about through social constructs such as respect for elders, which is exemplified in the Roman veneration for the ways of their ancestors. Furthermore, while power is associated with obedience, the Roman concept of authority is associated with trust, whether it be in a legal or social setting.¹²

⁹ Krieger (1977) 258.

¹⁰ Krieger (1977) 258.

¹¹ Lowrie (2009) 284; for a brief discussion on *auctoritas* and *potestas*, see Lowrie (2009) 283-5.

¹² I have presented a simplified view of *auctoritas* here, and acknowledge that it barely scratches the surface of such a complicated concept; for a thorough article on the evolution of “authority”, see Krieger (1977).

The concept of authority discussed thus far pertains to legal contexts; however, the application and manifestation of *auctoritas* in the literary context is much the same. A literary figure possessing authority – an *auctor* – had a degree of influence relative to their standing in their particular field. Moreover, the attainment of *auctoritas* appears to have worked in much the same way, with literary authority conveying a sense of trustworthiness, while also being derived from the recognition of oneself as authoritative.¹³ Cicero, as an orator experienced in the world of law and politics, clearly understood the nature of the acquisition of *auctoritas*, and the methods through which he constructed Ennius’ authority are testament to this. The majority of citations from Ennius’ *Annales* serve to make the arguments in which they are quoted more persuasive, and Cicero takes advantage of Ennius’ authoritative capital while also employing a variety of authority-building techniques to enhance his appearance as a suitable source of evidence, an *auctor*.

Throughout the Republican period the term *auctor* was used primarily in political or judicial contexts. In these contexts, an *auctor*, as Ziolkowski writes, “stood as a guarantor of a truth that he announced or a right that he held or transferred”.¹⁴ The term had a myriad of meanings, including progenitor, founder, doer, author, investigator, advisor, promoter, leader, model, and witness. In the Imperial period the emperor would also usurp the term, as the *princeps auctor*.¹⁵ As time progressed, literary figures such as Ennius came to be regarded as *auctores* in their own right. Given that the term *auctor* encompassed a diverse range of functions throughout the different areas of society, and given the complexity inherent in the

¹³ Ennius provides the perfect case study for this point. In the early first-century B.C. Ennius is seen as authoritative and is treated as such in the work of Lucretius, who, at *De Rerum Natura* 1.117-26 not only makes the famous pun *Ennius...perennis*, but also writes that the description of the underworld he borrowed from the *Annales* was written “in eternal verse” (*Ennius aeternis exponit versibus edens*); moreover, Ennius’ hexameters influenced generations of Latin poets, ranging from Lucretius and Cicero, to lesser-known poets such as Marcus Furius Bibaculus and Publius Terentius Varro Atacinus. In the early Imperial period, however, the Augustan poets portrayed Ennius’ poetry as crude and unpolished, while scathing criticism by the Neronian scholar Seneca is preserved in his *De Ira* (3.37.5) and in an account by the antiquarian Aulus Gellius (12.2). For a survey of Ennius’ reception in later authors, see Skutsch (1985) 8-46; for Ennius’ influence on the minor poets, see Courtney (1993) 53-4 (Hostius), 58 (Accius), 175-6 (Cicero), 195-6 (Furius Bibaculus), and 238-48 (Varro Atacinus) and Goldberg (1995) 141-2; for Ennius’ relationship with the Augustan elegists, see Butrica (1983), Elder (1965), and Miller (1983).

¹⁴ Ziolkowski (2009) 425.

¹⁵ In his biography of Vespasian, Suetonius refers to the emperor as an *auctor* when he writes “he was an authority to the voting senate, so that [they would vote that] she who joined herself to a another person’s slave would herself be held as a servant... (*auctor senatui fuit decernendi, ut quae se alieno servo iunxisset, ancilla haberetur...*); Suet. *Vesp.* 11.

term, I shall concentrate solely on its application in relation to literary figures. This chapter will be comprised of two sections. The first section will provide a brief discussion on the evolution of the literary *auctor*, as well as an explanation of the term, while the second chapter focuses on the sources of authority as we find them in Cicero's works. I have deliberately concentrated on Cicero's conception of *auctoritas* because my focus is the way that *he* constructs the authority of Ennius and his *Annales*.

What is a literary *auctor*?

When considering the meaning of *auctor* in the literary sense, it is important to note that the word took on a meaning that was more than simply an author. According to the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* an *auctor* is "a writer who is regarded as a master of his subject or as providing reliable evidence, an authority".¹⁶ The idea is that an *auctor* is an expert in his particular field, and so his utterances on that topic would be deemed credible due to the authority inherent in his words. Alastair Minnis, in his short chapter "The Medieval Concept of the Author", defines the term *auctor* as denoting someone who was at once a writer and an authority, someone not merely to be read but also to be respected and believed.¹⁷ As such, when called upon for evidence in either a speech or literary work, an *auctor* could be more than simply "the author of a literary work".¹⁸ In line with the juridical sense, the authority (*auctoritas*) of such figures had connotations of both veracity and sagacity,¹⁹ in addition to the overall sense of trustworthiness and credibility as witnesses. Deriving from the verb *augeo*, meaning increase or augment, we can follow Giorgio Agamben, who defines *auctor* as "one who increases" (*is qui auget*).²⁰ Moreover, with its use in the literary sense, we can say that an *auctor* is "one who augments arguments". An apt case for examination is Cicero's citation of the *Annales* in the *Pro Murena*, delivered in the 60s B.C.:

Ut ait ingeniosus poeta et auctor valde bonus

¹⁶ OLD (1968) s.v. *auctor*.

¹⁷ Minnis (1994) 162.

¹⁸ Lausberg (1998) 611.

¹⁹ Ziolkowski (2009) 432, Minnis (1994) 162.

²⁰ Agamben (2005) 76.

As the talented poet and a very good authority says²¹

When we see Cicero describing Ennius as an *auctor*, it is clear that he is speaking with reference to Ennius' ability as an author and his reliability as a source. At this juncture in the speech, Cicero is addressing his opponent, Servius, telling him that in times of war orators are abandoned in favour of soldiers. As evidence he cites a passage from the *Annales*, mildly distorting its sense by breaking the quotation down into a series of sentences, and giving his own interpretation of the content. This citation introduction from the *Pro Murena* is particularly useful when considering the role of the literary *auctor*, because it demonstrates the use of a literary figure as an authoritative source within a legal setting. In the latter part of his *Topica*, composed in 44 B.C., Cicero attests to the fact that the words and writings of literary figures were often called upon as evidence in arguments. He writes that, in addition to the *auctoritas* of politicians and magistrates, that of orators, historians, philosophers, and poets was often sought out to make arguments more convincing.²² Henriette van der Blom has reasonably noted that Romans had a more suspicious view of these pursuits than the Greeks, and suggests that Cicero may have been taking advantage of his target-audience's higher education and presumably more favourable opinion of the liberal arts, to "carve out *auctoritas* for these categories".²³ In light of van der Blom's observation, I suggest that Cicero intended his words to act also as a kind of retrospective legitimisation of his use of literary *auctores*, as a way to assuage the concerns that his more conservative readers may have harboured.

Asserting the *auctoritas* of a figure of lower social and political standing within a legal setting represents a shift in the application of the term *auctor*, and in doing so Cicero himself can be seen as an active participant in the redefinition of what it meant. By quoting Ennius, Cicero merges two different realms of authority: literary and juridical. This merger introduces the idea that a poet could be considered a reliable witness, a "guarantor of truth" within the legal world. For the present study of Ennius, it is also important to note that he is portrayed as more than just an *auctor*, since Cicero places extra emphasis on his reliability with the added words, *valde bonus*. In retrospect, the citation of poets in Cicero's legal speeches of the 60s B.C.

²¹ Cic. *Mur.* 30.

²² Cic. *Top.* 78; cf. Quint. *Inst.* 5.11.39.

²³ Van der Blom (2010) 126.

could also be seen to be foreshadowing his wholesale use of poets as authorities in the written works composed in the following decades.²⁴

Jan Ziolkowski (who labels Cicero as “prescient” because *auctor* eventually acquired the meaning of “poet”) highlights Cicero’s progressiveness in his use of the term to describe Ennius.²⁵ He emphasises the fact that an *auctor* could be someone who was both a writer *and* an authority. The label “prescient” is also particularly fitting, since, although the works of both Ziolkowski and Minnis focus on the medieval function of a literary *auctor*, they make a variety of observations that apply to the works of Cicero.²⁶ I will address some of the observations that are most pertinent to our discussion of Cicero and the literary *auctor*.²⁷

Both scholars note the circular logic of *auctores* and their *auctoritas*. Essentially, an *auctor* would produce a work imbued with *auctoritas*; likewise, a work possessed *auctoritas* because it was written by an *auctor*.²⁸ Thus, a treatise or poem could be seen to possess authority, as a tangible representation of its writer’s expertise; for example, a philosophical work of Plato would be considered authoritative due to the status of Plato within philosophy, just as the *Annales* could be considered authoritative due to Ennius’ poetic status and knowledge of the *res gestae Romanorum*. Because statements made by the author were “at once authoritative and authentic”, the author’s authority was transferred to the text, making it possible “to refer to the authority of a given author as shorthand for the authority of a text by the author”.²⁹ The practice of referring to a work by the name of its author is standard practice in the works of Cicero; in the case of Ennius, he only once names the *Annales* as a source, though he appears more willing to differentiate between Ennius and his tragedies. It is significant that Cicero does not differentiate between Ennius and the *Annales* in the same way in which he does with Ennius’ tragedies, suggesting a

²⁴ The idea of a philosopher citing poets as evidence in arguments can be traced back to Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle who made use of poets such as Homer in their own works. My reason for spending time looking at the evolving application of *auctor* to poets is that while Cicero is emulating his Greek predecessors to a degree, he is doing so within a Roman context and needs to legitimize this practice for his own audience.

²⁵ Ziolkowski (2009) 426-7.

²⁶ The obvious exception is, of course, the role of the Church in regard to medieval *auctoritas*.

²⁷ In doing this I am aware that I am blending the views of two periods of markedly different cultures; however, far from being an anachronistic imposition, it will become apparent in what follows that Ziolkowski’s comment on Cicero’s prescience is wholly justified.

²⁸ Ziolkowski (2009) 427, Minnis (1994) 164; cf. Teeuwen (2003) 222.

²⁹ Ziolkowski (2009) 430.

conflation of both the author and his *magnum opus*. For the purposes of authority-building, using the author's name as shorthand for the text gives Cicero the flexibility to praise both in an economical way.

Authority, and therefore *auctor*-status seem, to have been afforded to authors who were cited most frequently.³⁰ Likewise, it would appear that authors whose works had become canonical also came under the rubric of *auctores*.³¹ We know from various sources that Ennius' *Annales* was taught in schools, and held pride of place as the national epic, until eventually being replaced by Virgil's *Aeneid*.³² We also know that Cicero made extensive use of the Ennian corpus: according to Daniela Deuck, Cicero quotes Ennius ninety-two times, with Aratus (forty-one), Accius (twenty-eight), and Pacuvius (twenty-seven) being the next closest in number.³³ Certainly, it would appear that the *Annales* was an established part of the Roman literary canon, with Ennius himself enjoying a high degree of authority measurable through the frequency of citation in Cicero's work.

Finally, Minnis writes that it is possible to regard *auctor* as an "accolade bestowed upon a popular writer by those later scholars and writers who used extracts from his works as sententious statements".³⁴ While the added elegance and Cicero's own admiration for Ennius would have factored in to his citation of the poet, the primary reason for citing Ennius was the strength that his name would give to arguments. With this in mind, it is reasonable to conclude that Cicero did indeed label figures such as Ennius as *auctores* in order to benefit his arguments. While I would agree that Cicero certainly constructs the authority of his sources in such a way as to influence the reception of his arguments, and indeed the present thesis aims to elucidate his methods for doing this, I would disagree that he uses the term *auctor* strictly for self-benefit. Ennius, for example, is only given the title three times, each

³⁰ Ziolkowski (2009) 427.

³¹ Cf. Fantham (1996) 130.

³² See Keith (2000) 1-7 for Ennius as canonical, Elder (1965) for Ennius' influence on Augustans, particularly Tibullus, and Jocelyn (1967) 55 for the *Annales* as a school text in second-century A.D. According to Suetonius, works published criticizing the *Annales* had been suppressed, which, for our purposes, hints at a possible infallible authority that the poem may have been regarded as having at the height of its popularity; Suet. *Gramm.* 8.1. Cornell begins his review of Skutsch's edition of the *Annales* by stating how important the poem was as a source for history, saying that the educated in Rome probably got "their first and most lasting impressions from the *Annals*"; Cornell (1986) 244.

³³ Dueck (2009) 315.

³⁴ Minnis (1994) 162.

appearing in conjunction with a quotation from the *Annales*. Moreover, of these three, only two are overt, while the third appears in an elaborately wrought passage in which his position as an *auctor* is asserted through an association with antiquity (*antiquitas*).³⁵ Thus, despite any self-interest Cicero might have had, he does not exploit *auctor* by bestowing the title to every author whom he used as a source, as Minnis shows that medieval authors did. In this respect, Cicero's usage does differ from that of writers of the medieval age.

Sources of authority in Cicero's works

In the later stages of his *Topica*, Cicero discusses the need for testimony (*testimonium*) in arguments, and the requisites for a witness to be considered an authority.³⁶ At the beginning of *Topica* 78, Cicero observes that men could be considered virtuous even if they only *appear* to be, adding that when people see figures endowed with talent (*ingenium*), zeal (*studium*), or learning (*doctrina*), they tend to think of the men as how they themselves would like to be.³⁷ Here we have Cicero naming several qualities that are considered to make men virtuous and therefore authoritative, while also giving some information regarding the acquisition of authority. At the end of this section he writes that it is not only men with honours granted by the people (*populi honoribus*) or those involved in the commonwealth of the people (*populi re publica*) who can be called upon as witnesses, but also orators, philosophers, poets, and historians.³⁸ In doing so, he provides his own *testimonium* that literary figures could be considered *auctores*, while also highlighting the importance of the perception of *auctoritas*, which Michèle Lowrie describes as a concept that “thrives on representation”.³⁹ This explains why Cicero went to such

³⁵ As an additional note, there is no identifiable pattern to Cicero's use of *auctor* with Ennius. The three instances in which he is given the title occur in three different genres of work, each at different periods of time: legal speech (*Pro Murena*) delivered in 63 B.C., rhetorical treatise (*Brutus*) published c. 46 B.C., and philosophical text (*Tusculanae*) published c. 44 B.C. A detailed discussion of this will take place in Chapter 4, p. 79.

³⁶ Cic. *Top.* 73-8.

³⁷ Henriette van der Blom, in her discussion of this passage, describes Cicero's words as stressing that “perception of virtue can lend a false sense of authority”; van der Blom (2010) 126. Her tone suggests that Cicero intends the statement to be a warning, but it is possible that, in light of the authority-building practices he so readily employs, he is informing his readers that in some cases the illusion of authority can be just as potent as actual authority.

³⁸ Cic. *Top.* 78. As his examples of illustrious men involved in public affairs Cicero cites Cato, Laelius, and Scipio Africanus. Coincidentally, Cicero also employs these figures as speakers in some of his philosophical works because of the authority they possess.

³⁹ Lowrie (2009) 293.

elaborate lengths repeatedly to construct or assert the authority of authors such as Ennius. Thus, from this section of the *Topica*, we learn that *ingenium*, *studium*, and *doctrina* can all contribute to one's *virtus* and the *auctoritas* that is subsequently derived from it. Cicero makes more use of appeals to *ingenium* to raise Ennius' authority in the legal speeches and rhetorical works than in the philosophical works. This can perhaps be explained by the different natures of each genre. The philosophical works contained arguments exploring complex ideas, thus requiring Cicero to construct Ennius as an authority in a particular field, whereas the legal speeches were composed in a different manner, with brevity more important and requiring a diverse kind of emphasis on an author's reliability.⁴⁰

In addition to using talent and education as a means for building authority, Cicero also appeals to two other highly authoritative concepts, *antiquitas* and *gravitas*. At various points within his works Cicero emphasises the authority of each of these concepts, particularly when explaining their influence on the selection of speakers for his dialogues. Evidence for his opinion on the weight of *antiquitas* in arguments can be found in the *Orator* and *Tusculanae*; by contrast, evidence for his belief in the authoritativeness of *gravitas* is found primarily in his philosophical works. Because of their importance in the overall scheme of authority-construction, it is necessary to spend some time considering Cicero's view of these concepts.

There are two points in the *Orator* that stress the authoritative qualities of antiquity. In the first instance, Cicero provides three reasons as to why arguments can benefit from the citation of antiquity: pleasure (*delectatio*), authority (*auctoritas*), and credibility (*fides*).

Commemoratio autem antiquitatis exemplorumque prolatio summa cum delectatione et auctoritatem orationi affert et fidem.

⁴⁰ Hence, as we see in the *Pro Murena* and *Pro Balbo*, Ennius is described with short, expressive phrases. As already mentioned, in the *Pro Murena* Cicero labelled Ennius *ingeniosus poeta et auctor valde bonus*, stressing his talent as a poet and reliability as a source. In the *Pro Balbo* Ennius is referred to as *ille summus poeta noster*, with *ille* indicative of his fame, *summus poeta* his standing among poets, and *noster* his position as a Roman citizen; see Cic. *Balb.* 51, and Barber (2012) 75-6 and 95-7.

Moreover, the recollection of antiquity and the adducing of examples bring both authority and trustworthiness to the speech, along with the highest pleasure [for the listeners].⁴¹

Here, Cicero gives three benefits that are akin to those arising from the citation of poetry in arguments.⁴² Just as important as the benefits are the comments Cicero makes about the citation of antiquity itself. The phrase *commemoratio antiquitatis* indicates that an argument can be strengthened by the simple act of mentioning “antiquity”,⁴³ while the phrase *prolatio exemplorum* reveals both its instructive and precedential nature, since examples or models (*exempla*) can be adduced in support of the view being presented. Later in the *Orator* the idea of instruction and precedent is repeated, with Cicero giving his own opinion on the weight of *antiquitas*:

Habet autem ut in aetatibus auctoritatem senectus sic in exemplis antiquitas, quae quidem apud me ipsum valet plurimum.

Moreover, just as old age has authority in years, so too does antiquity, which, in fact, carries a lot of weight with me, have authority in its examples.⁴⁴

The presentation of antiquity as something that can be instructive is echoed here through the use of the term *exemplum*. There is also the idea that while the elderly should be considered to have *auctoritas* through the wisdom accumulated over many years, antiquity should also be regarded as having *auctoritas* due to the number of precedents, or lessons to be learned. Important to this study is the insertion of Cicero’s own point of view. In the final part of the quotation, Cicero emphatically states that, for him (*apud me*), the authority of antiquity is particularly powerful; as a result he presents himself as having an almost reverent attitude toward the authority of antiquity and the ancients. A further demonstration of this can be found in the

⁴¹ Cic. *Orat.* 120.

⁴² Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1.8.10-12.

⁴³ An example of this logic can be found in the *De Natura Deorum*. Cotta, responding to the arguments presented by the Stoic, Balbus, criticizes him for using a series of arguments to prove divine existence, when he could simply have relied on the tradition of their ancestors (*mihi enim unum [argumentum] sat erat, ita nobis maiores nostros tradidisse*). Cotta represents the Academic school, and thus the views of Cicero himself; see Cic. *N.D.* 3.9, and Rackham (1972) xiv.

⁴⁴ Cic. *Orat.* 169.

Tusculanae, where Cicero re-employs the phrase *valet plurimum* in relation to *antiquitas*:

Auctoribus quidem ad istam sententiam, quam vis obtineri, uti optimis possumus, quod in omnibus causis et debet et solet valere plurimum, et primum quidem omni antiquitate...

In fact, for that way of thinking that you want proven, we are able to employ the best authorities, a thing which in all cases should and usually does carry the most weight, and indeed the first authority we can employ is all antiquity...⁴⁵

Several aspects of this quotation are useful for determining Cicero's attitude toward the authority of antiquity. Before beginning, it is important to note that each of the quotations that express veneration for the *auctoritas* of *antiquitas* is delivered through the mouth of Cicero, not through the mouths of other dialogue speakers, such as Cato or Scipio.⁴⁶ As I noted above, we have the repetition of the phrase *valere plurimum*, with the sense of strength that it conveys; moreover, another attestation of antiquity's influence in arguments is presented when Cicero places it first under the rubric of *optimi auctores*. This passage, coupled with those in the *Orator*, confirms that, for Cicero, *antiquitas* was a valuable source of authority because it represented centuries of tradition and contained the authority of the ancients (*auctoritas maiorum*).

Gravitas is a term denoting not only weight or importance, but also dignity. Evidence of its importance to Cicero can be found when he explains – or justifies – the choice of speakers for his various dialogues. He seems to operate with the mindset that *gravitas* brings *auctoritas*, and that a lack of *gravitas* is detrimental to the overall *auctoritas* of a person or work. Thus, for his own works to be considered more

⁴⁵ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.26. I will only address this passage briefly here, as it will receive a more in-depth analysis in Chapter 4. For an alternative view on Cicero's attitude toward the authority of antiquity in this passage, see Gildenhard (2007) 248.

⁴⁶ I consider this worthy of note because my purpose here is to bring awareness to Cicero's own views on the authoritative nature of antiquity. The passages from the *Orator* are indicative of Cicero's opinions within the frame of rhetorical instruction, while the *Tusculanae* provide an example of an application of this authority. *De Haruspicum Responsis* 18 gives a glimpse of the societal importance of the ancients (*maiores*) and complements the idea of the instructive quality of antiquity; for *maiores* see also van der Blom (2010) 12-25.

authoritative, he exploits the authoritative capital of both past and contemporary figures, who were themselves men of profound *gravitas*.⁴⁷ A discussion of Peripatetic philosophers in the *De Finibus* provides us with an example of the relationship between *gravitas* and *auctoritas* in literary works:

Concinnus deinde et elegans huius, Aristo, sed ea, quae desiderantur a magno philosopho, gravitas, in eo non fuit; scripta sane et multa et polita, sed nescio quo pacto auctoritatem oratio non habet.

Next, his [Lyco's] pupil, Aristo is polished and elegant, but he does not have that which is desired of a great philosopher, *gravitas*; truly, he wrote many works, and they were polished, but his style of speaking, I do not know how, lacks authority (*auctoritas*).⁴⁸

The *De Finibus* contains no justification as to why Aristo and his work are judged to be lacking in weight; however, the *De Senectute* provides a possible clue:

Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Ceus – parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula – sed Marco Catoni seni, quo maiorem⁴⁹ auctoritatem haberet oratio...

Moreover, I attributed the whole speech, not to Tithonus, as did Aristo of Ceos (for there is little authority in myth), but to old Marcus Cato, so that the work would have more authority...⁵⁰

In explaining his decision to employ the figure of Cato the Elder as principal speaker of the *De Senectute*, Cicero gives a reason why at least one of Aristo's works was not

⁴⁷ The three men (Cato, Scipio, and Laelius) given as examples of the truly virtuous at *Topica* 78 can be found as speakers in several of the philosophical works for which Cicero has chosen to use illustrious figures from Rome's past. Powell sums up Cicero's use of distinguished figures by saying that "all Cicero's extant philosophical works except the *De Officiis* are cast in the form of a dialogue, and in all the dialogues except the *Tusculans* (where the characters are anonymous, though one apparently represents Cicero himself) the speakers are noble Romans"; see Powell (1988) 5.

⁴⁸ Cic. *Fin.* 5.13.

⁴⁹ There is a possible pun to be found here, with *maiolem* able to be interpreted in three ways: first, with the simple meaning of "more"; second, with the meaning that using Cato will imbue the work with the authority of the *maiores* – ancestral authority; and finally, it could be read as referring back to Cato, who was titled Cato Maior (Cato the Elder).

⁵⁰ Cic. *Sen.* 3.

considered to be authoritative: his use of a mythological character as the speaker of his work. Tithonus is a figure from Greek mythology, who at Eos' request was granted immortality by Zeus; however, Eos failed to ask for eternal age, and thus Tithonus became an immortal, forever aging. While Aristo obviously considered Tithonus an appropriate choice for a treatise on old age, Cicero preferred to use the "*mos maiorum* incarnate",⁵¹ Cato the Elder, whose personal authority would be inherent in the arguments of the text.⁵² These passages give us an insight into the relationship between *gravitas* and authority: if a person is considered to have *gravitas*, then their utterances will be imbued with *auctoritas*. In the *De Amicitia*, Cicero explains his selection of Laelius as speaker, giving the relationship between *gravitas* and the subsequent increase in *auctoritas* as one of his reasons:

Genus autem hoc sermonum positum in hominum veterum auctoritate et eorum illustrium plus nescio quo pacto videtur habere gravitatis.

Moreover, this type of discourse seems, for some reason, to have weight (*gravitas*) when placed in the authority of old men, and even more so in the authority of those who are distinguished.⁵³

The practice of using the authority of ancient men (*auctoritas hominum veterum*) for the weight and dignity that they add to a work is made clear here. In fact, Cicero's explanation suggests that there is a base level of authority inherent in the ancients, and that additional authority is derived from the relative *gravitas* attached to particular figures.

Conclusion

⁵¹ For an excellent treatment of the prologue of the *De Senectute*, see Baraz (2012) 173-86.

⁵² Like Aristo, Cicero also wanted his speakers to be appropriate to the theme of the text. The *De Senectute* is headed by Cato, renowned for his old age, the *De Amicitia* is led by Laelius, because of his close friendship with Scipio Africanus, and the *De Oratore* featured a number of prominent second-century orators, of which Lucius Licinius Crassus and Marcus Antonius are two examples.

⁵³ Cic. *Am.* 4.

Over the course of this section I have surveyed a series of sources from which *auctoritas*, and thus *auctor*-status, could be derived. An *auctor* was a reliable source. When called upon, he raised the credibility of an argument; moreover, because an *auctor* was also a master of his subject, he needed to be presented as such. To make Ennius a relevant source for the diverse range of arguments for which he was cited as evidence, Cicero needed to make extensive use of different sources of authority. Thus Cicero may emphasise Ennius' knowledge in a particular a field of study (*doctrina* or *studium*), his status or skill as a poet (*ingenium*), his place within historical tradition (*antiquitas*), or the importance of the content of his work (*gravitas*). To maximise his effect on the reception of the argument, Cicero needed to present Ennius as having authority relevant to the argument in which he is being cited. Indeed, just as there existed the aforementioned circular logic with *auctor* and *auctoritas*, so too there existed a circular logic with Cicero and Ennius: Cicero reinforced the authority of Ennius, and Ennius, as a result, reinforced the authority of Cicero.

Chapter 2:

Borrowed Authority: The importance of Cicero's speakers

Within the context of authority-building, the speakers of Cicero's philosophical works take on an added importance because all the ideas are delivered through their "mouths". Indeed, only one book in his philosophical corpus, Book 2 of the *De Divinatione*, specifically features Cicero himself as the speaker.⁵⁴ With this in mind, it is important to consider briefly Cicero's attitude towards his speakers before examining their relevance to the construction of Ennius as an authoritative source. Although he was an ex-consul, and thus a man possessing his own degree of *auctoritas*, Cicero preferred to use eminent Romans of either past or present as his speakers.⁵⁵ He approached the selection of speakers meticulously, as is evident in his letter to Atticus, where he records that he had replaced the original *dramatis personae* of the *Academica* because he felt that, in reality, none of the speakers selected would be sufficiently philosophical; moreover, he debates the merits of using his contemporary, Varro, with whom relations were apparently frosty.⁵⁶ In his letters to Atticus and Quintus, Cicero gives his general reasons for employing these historical figures: to avoid making enemies, to avoid jealousy among contemporaries who were not selected, to refer to contemporary events in a past context, and to use their status to give his work more weight.⁵⁷ Of importance for this study is the final point: that Cicero opted to use Romans of high repute for the authority they would lend his arguments.

⁵⁴ See p. 21 n. 47 for the possibility that one of the speakers in the *Tusculanae* represents Cicero; see also Gildenhard (2007) 21-6.

⁵⁵ Cic. *QF*. 3.5. Writing to Quintus about his *De Re Publica*, Cicero records that Sallustius suggested that the work would be authoritative if it had been composed with Cicero himself as the primary speaker, because of both his political experience and status as an ex-consul. The Sallustius referred to here is not the first-century historian, but a lesser-known figure who was friends with both Cicero and Atticus.

⁵⁶ Cic. *Att*. 13.9.5.1-3 (change of cast), 13.9.5.10-12 (request for advice); the two verbs of thinking (*putes* and *videbis*) along with the repetition of *etiam* in Cicero's request reveal both its urgency and importance to him: *sed tu dandosne putes hoc libros Varroni etiam atque etiam videbis*. For Cicero's relationship with Varro, see Wiseman (2009) 107-129; for an analysis of the accuracy of Cicero's presentations of his dialogue characters, see Jones (1939) 307-325.

⁵⁷ Cic. *Att*. 12.12.2.2-3 (to avoid making enemies), 13.19.4.12 (to avoid arousing others' jealousy); Cic. *QF*. 3.5.2.3-5 (to refer to contemporary events), 3.5.1.9-11 (to use their *dignitas* to add weight). Expressing the point about transferred *dignitas*, Cicero says, *hominumque dignitas aliquantum orationi ponderis adferebat*. Both *dignitas* and *pondus* can convey the sense of weightiness or importance (i.e. *gravitas*), though, *pondus* is a literal weight, and *dignitas* is more figurative. In these letters he makes it clear that Heraclides of Pontus, the fourth century philosopher who studied under Plato and contemporaneously with Aristotle, is his model for the practice of using speakers in his works.

Cicero knows, and in some cases openly acknowledges, that prominent figures would give his work added authority, thus affecting the reception of his arguments. In other cases, however, when the topic of discussion is more serious, Cicero prefers not to mention this, instead being content to disguise his own views as the views of others.⁵⁸ In any event, the historical Romans employed by Cicero serve two functions: to give authority to arguments and to act as vessels for his own views. This brings us back to Ennius, and the construction of his authority. While speakers such as Cato give authority to the arguments of the *De Senectute*, they also give authority to Cicero's presentation of Ennius and the *Annales*. Since almost all of Cicero's philosophical works feature famous Romans as speakers, it must be remembered that many of the assertions of Ennius' authority are delivered in an authoritative tone. When Cicero employs men like Cato and Scipio, Ennius' authority is not only being constructed with the help of men possessing *gravitas*, but also men who were his fellow *maiores*, and thus those who could be considered the most suitable judges of his character.⁵⁹ Moreover, this method of reasoning has a precedent in the *Brutus*, where Cicero labels Ennius a "suitable authority" (*idoneus auctor*) for the rhetorical prowess of Marcus Cethegus, because Ennius, as Cethegus' contemporary, had first-hand knowledge of his ability.⁶⁰

The *De Senectute*, with Cato as its primary interlocutor, is the work that exemplifies the use of a distinguished historical figure to construct the authority of a source, in this case Ennius. Not only does Cato assert Ennius' authority through various means, but he also passes judgment on the content or style of some quotations, while vouching for the historical reliability of others.

⁵⁸ Cic. *Sen.* 3, and Cic. *Am.* 4-5, provide examples of light-hearted dialogues that acknowledge the benefit of authoritative speakers; on the other hand, the *De Oratore* and *De Re Publica* represent more serious dialogues, with Cicero's own views disguised. One method Cicero employs for such a dialogue is to state, as he does in the *De Oratore*, that he is repeating a conversation held by men of the highest eloquence and honour that he had heard in his youth; Cic. *De Orat.* 1.23. Yelena Baraz observes that Cicero shapes earlier treatises such as the *De Re Publica* and *De Oratore* in a way that is markedly different from later treatises such as the *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia*. In contrast to the earlier works, where "the content of the treatises derives its authority from the great men of earlier generations and, furthermore, takes the shape of members of the older generation passing their wisdom to the younger", the later works concentrate the authority of the older generation "by allowing only one highly authoritative representative, Cato the Elder and Laelius, respectively, to direct the discourse"; see Baraz (2012) 198.

⁵⁹ Cato and Ennius were born within five years of each other, with Ennius born in 239 B.C. and Cato *c.* 234; see Fantham (1996) 11.

⁶⁰ Cic. *Brut.* 57-9.

Direct involvement of a speaker: Cato and the *De Senectute*

The *De Senectute*, in which Cicero argues that old age is not the burden it is commonly believed to be, features a creative blend of authority-building techniques. The technique that I will address in this chapter is Cicero's use of Cato to pass judgment on either the quality or stylistic merit of a quotation from the *Annales*. The poem is cited four times throughout the *De Senectute*, and each quotation is accompanied by an adverb of praise or a qualifying remark that stresses its historicity. The first citation from the *Annales* – a three-line verse (*Ann.* 363-5) summarizing⁶¹ Fabius Maximus' victory over Hannibal – occurs at *De Senectute* 10, where Cicero's Cato argues that the best defenses against old age are the virtues that are cultivated throughout one's life. He argues that this is not only because these virtues will not fail you in your old age, but because it is also nice to be able to look back knowing your life was well spent. As evidence, he invokes Fabius Maximus, whom he states waged war as though a youth, although an old man, checking the impetuous young Hannibal. As the first Ennian citation with authorial acknowledgement in the work, Cicero uses the opportunity to set out the relationship between Ennius and Cato:⁶²

De quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius:

[Fabius] about whom my friend Ennius spoke splendidly:⁶³

The construction of Ennius' authority in this work begins with the establishment of the relationship between the two men, evident when Cato refers to Ennius as *familiaris noster*. This relationship is not without historical basis,⁶⁴ and by playing on this connection, Cicero not only adds a layer of realism to his dialogue, but also raises

⁶¹ According to Skutsch (in agreement with Macrobius 6.1.23), it is more likely that this fragment came from a later book of the *Annales*, in which Fabius' deeds are recalled, than from the earlier book that would have featured the historical account of Fabius; see Skutsch (1985) 528-532.

⁶² The *De Senectute* actually begins with a quotation from the *Annales* (*Ann.* 335-9), which Cicero uses as a means of addressing the work's dedicatee, Atticus; for extensive discussion of this, see Baraz (2012) 173-186. Cf. Skutsch (1985) 510-512 and Powell (1988) 94-100.

⁶³ Cic. *Sen.* 10.

⁶⁴ Nepos (*Cato* 1. 4) records that Cato brought Ennius to Rome from Africa, whereas Silius Italicus has Ennius fighting in Sardinia, where Cato was serving as quaestor. The opinion of Elaine Fantham is that Silius' account is more plausible; see Fantham (1996) 267. For a discussion of Ennius in Silius Italicus, see Casali (2006) 569-593.

Ennius' status by placing him among Cato's intimates. The accompanying adverb at this citation is *praeclare*, which, if referring to content instead of style, provides an example of the construction of authority through the use of in-text criticism from a speaker. In this case, Cato is lauding Ennius' depiction of Fabius Maximus.⁶⁵ The *praeclare* gains more weight from the comments put in Cato's mouth when he introduces Fabius to the argument. Indeed, Cato recalls his experiences with Fabius, as he accompanied him to Capua while still a youth, and later participated in his famous reconquest of Tarentum in 209 B.C. These biographical facts related by Cato not only introduce the experienced Fabius and his commendable achievements, but also set Cato himself up as fit to judge the content of Ennius' poetry. Thus, Cicero constructs the authoritativeness of Cato by presenting him as suitable to judge Ennius' description of Fabius' tactics due to his prior experience with Fabius, and his involvement at Tarentum; in turn, Cato, as a suitable authority, goes on to construct the authority of Ennius by vouching for the historicity of his depiction of Fabius. Through this process, Cato becomes an *idoneus auctor* just as Ennius was in the *Brutus* when invoked to define Marcus Cethegus. This sets the tone for Cicero's treatment of Ennius as a source throughout the *De Senectute*.

Later, at *De Senectute* 16, Cicero cites Ennius to aid in the portrayal of another historical Roman, Appius Claudius Caecus. Different, however, is the content of the quoted verse. Whereas earlier Cicero quoted a short summary of Fabius' military tactics, here he cites a two-line verse (*Ann.* 199-200), purportedly a versification of a speech delivered to the Senate by Appius.⁶⁶ Accordingly, the quotation is introduced as being a verse rendering of Appius' famous speech; however, Cicero follows the citation with a short, ambiguous comment that can be read as referring to either the content or style of Appius' speech or Ennius' poetry:

⁶⁵ Zetzel believes that on each of the occasions that Cicero uses *praeclarus* in relation to Ennius' poetry it concerns content, and not style. The description of the words, and thus content, of Pyrrhus' speech at *Off.* 1.38 as *illa praeclara* would seem to confirm this; see Zetzel (2007) 4-5. I will look at Pyrrhus' speech in greater detail later in this chapter.

⁶⁶ Jackie Elliott observes with interest Cicero's decision to quote from Ennius' version instead of the "historical document" containing the transcript of the actual speech, which apparently still existed in the late Republic (*Brut.* 61). She writes that Cato seems to have no misgivings about using the poetic version over the historical version, and considers whether Ennius' rendering would have a more "palpable moral impact" than a quotation from the actual speech; see Elliott (2013) 161-4 for a discussion of *Sen.* 16.

... cum sententia senatus inclinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum, non dubitavit dicere illa, quae versibus persecutus est Ennius: “quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant antehac, dementes sese flexere viai?” ceteraque gravissime...

When the feeling of the senate was inclining toward peace with Pyrrhus and the establishment of a treaty, he [Appius] did not hesitate to speak those famous words, which Ennius translated into verse: “How is it that your minds, which used to stand straight before, are now following the road of insanity?” and other things, most impressively...⁶⁷

Ambiguity arises when considering the role of *cetera* in relation to *illa*. *Illa*, which acts as a substantive adjective meaning “those words”, is followed by the relative clause that directly introduces the quotation as being an Ennian versification. Grammatically, *cetera*, which follows the quotation, implies that the *illa* mentioned in the introduction of the citation were also full of *gravitas*. Thus the question arises: does *cetera* refer to Appius’ words or Ennius’ poetry? The likely answer is “both”. The expression could easily feature *dixit Appius* or *scripsit Ennius*,⁶⁸ and this ambiguity was probably Cicero’s intention. The adverb of praise in this case, *gravissime*, does little to answer this question. Appius’ speech was obviously *gravis* due to its weighty subject-matter and historical significance, while, in regard to the *Annales*, *gravis* could apply to the impressive style of Ennius’ hexameters, or the subject-matter both here and elsewhere throughout the poem. Because of the ambiguous nature of Cato’s commentary, the authority-building here is slightly subtler than the *praeclare* at *De Senectute* 10, discussed earlier. Furthermore, because the meaning of *gravissime* in this context is subject to interpretation, it can be argued that Cato’s judgment of the poem on this occasion does not aim to assert the authority of any particular facet of the *Annales* but aims to raise its *auctoritas* further by stressing the *gravitas* of the work in general. By using *gravissime*, the superlative of *graviter*, Cicero employs the most potent word available for bolstering the already immense *gravitas* of the *Annales*.

⁶⁷ Cic. *Sen.* 16.

⁶⁸ Hammond and Amory (1967) 215.

The final occasion upon which Cicero has Cato comment on the credibility of an Ennian quotation occurs at *De Senectute* 50. Utilizing the same methods as were employed at *De Senectute* 10 with Fabius Maximus, Cicero inserts an adverb detailing the accuracy of Ennius' character-description and makes Cato validate it by drawing on his own personal experience with the Roman general:

Atque eos omnis, quos commemoravi, his studiis flagrantis senes vidimus; Marcum vero Cethegum, quem recte "suadae medullam" dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri in dicendo videbamus etiam senem!

And I saw all those old men whom I have mentioned [Publius Crassus and Publius Scipio], with their passionate enthusiasm. Indeed there was also Marcus Cethegus, whom Ennius correctly named "the marrow of persuasion"; I used to see what kind of enthusiasm he displayed when speaking, even though an old man!⁶⁹

Cato reveals that he had actually witnessed Cethegus speaking, and can thus attest to the remarkable enthusiasm that he exuded in spite of his age. This revelation gives weight – and legitimacy – to his declaration that Ennius spoke "correctly" (*recte*) when labelling Cethegus "the marrow of persuasion" (*Ann.* 308).⁷⁰ Interesting is the use of *recte* in this instance. Earlier in the text, Cicero employed the adverbs *praeclare* and *gravissime*, which can each be read ambiguously: *praeclare* seems most plausibly to refer to the content of the quotation, though it cannot be ruled out entirely that it pertains to the style of poetry;⁷¹ *gravissime*, moreover, is completely ambiguous, referring either to style, subject-matter, or both. However, *recte* is less

⁶⁹ Cic. *Sen.* 50.

⁷⁰ The phrase *Suadae Medullam* has been lifted from a larger passage describing Marcus Cethegus that is preserved in varying degrees by Cicero (*Brut.* 57-9), Quintilian (*Inst.* 11.3.31), Gellius (*Gell.* 12.2.3) and Servius (*Aen.* 8.500). Additionally, the phrase undergoes a slight modification in the *De Senectute*. Other versions of the fragment have *medullam* in the nominative, indicating that Cicero has perhaps put the word into the accusative to make his sentence grammatically sound; this is not done in the *Brutus*, in which the passage (*Ann.* 304-8) is broken up and quoted in a fragmentary manner. Furthermore, in both the *Brutus* and *De Senectute*, Cicero has omitted the *que* which is attached to *Suadae*, evident in the last line of the citation preserved by Gellius (*flos delibatus populi Suadaeque medulla*).

⁷¹ See p. 24 n. 66 for Zetzl's view of *praeclarus* in Cicero, and the likelihood that it refers specifically to content.

problematic with its meaning of “correct”, serving to assert Ennius’ accuracy, and to reiterate his credibility as a source for prominent historical Romans. Again taking on the role of the *idoneus auctor*, Cato judges Ennius’ characterisation of another famous Roman, Marcus Cethegus. While he first judged Ennius for his description of Fabius, a Roman general, he extends his praise to cover Ennius’ accurate description of a Roman orator.

Attribution of quotations to figures from the poem: Pyrrhus and the *De Officiis*

Just as important as who the speaker is in the dialogue is the source to whom Cicero attributes quotations. While the main focus of this thesis is to examine the ways by which Ennius’ authority is either asserted or constructed by Cicero, and aspects of the ways in which Ennius and his *Annales* are quoted, it is important to note that not all of these citations are attributed specifically to Ennius himself. When quoting from a poetic text there are generally three sources to whom Cicero can attribute the quoted verse: to the author, to the figure in the poem who spoke it, or, finally, to the poem itself. This section will focus on the second possibility, the attribution of a verse to the figure who spoke it. Indeed, as will become clear, Cicero cites and attributes lines to Ennius in order to exploit the authoritative capital of both the man and his work – even if Cicero himself is responsible for extending this capital. Nineteen of the twenty-eight citations from the *Annales* present in the philosophical corpus are assigned to Ennius, and, of the remaining nine, the lack of authorial acknowledgement can be put down to the differing roles played by the quotations in each argument. For example, two of the unnamed citations occur at the beginning of a work or book,⁷² another allows Cicero to describe the ancient Italians using a popular verse,⁷³ while a further two quotations give Cicero the ability to describe the Strait of Gibraltar with Ennius’ hexameter, giving the dry argument some

⁷² *Ann.* 335-9 are used as a dedication at the beginning of the *De Senectute*, and *Ann.* 156 is used as the introductory line of Book 5 of the *De Re Publica*.

⁷³ *Ann.* 207, the famous Fauns and Bards line, appears at *Div.* 1.114. Its fame derives from Cicero’s explanation that Ennius meant to demean the Saturnian meter by referring to it as the meter used by Fauns and Bards (*Faunei et vates*) before he arrived with the more sophisticated hexameter. As a result of this, it has received a great deal of attention from scholars. There are no derogatory connotations with its use in the *De Divinatione*, which leads me to question whether Cicero’s claim that it was Ennius’ judgment on his predecessors is simply a Ciceronian invention to suit the arguments of his rhetorical works; for views on this see Conte (1984) 128-9, Hinds (1998) 52-74, Skutsch (1968) 119ff., Skutsch (1985) 369-75, and Sciarrino (2011) 90ff.

poetic flavour.⁷⁴ These citations are of little consequence to their respective arguments, thus revealing the likelihood that, when a quotation was of importance to the argument being presented, Cicero made sure to append Ennius' name for the authority it would bring. There is, however, one citation appearing in an argumentative context, an *exemplum*, which is not attributed to Ennius but to the Macedonian king, Pyrrhus.⁷⁵ This raises the question: if Ennius is important as evidence in arguments, why would Cicero risk weakening his argument by attributing it to someone else? I will return to this question in due course, but first we need to consider in more general terms how Cicero attributes quotations to particular characters or speakers from poetic works.

In order to gauge the importance of Cicero attributing to Pyrrhus a line from the *Annales*, it is useful to consider how his treatment of the *Annales* differs from his treatment of tragic citations. In fact, there is a stark contrast in the way the two genres of poetry are cited. Jocelyn, in his commentary on Ennius' tragedies, notes that "a large number of tragic verses are quoted by Cicero and Varro without any mention of the title", but that on occasion "the hero or heroine who spoke them is named".⁷⁶ From this we learn that, contrary to his practice with the *Annales*, Cicero could willingly attribute a dramatic citation to the character who spoke it. Illustrations of this method of quotation are not difficult to find; one such example can be found in the *De Natura Deorum*:

Telamo autem uno versu locum totum conficit cur di homines neglegant: "nam si curent, bene bonis sit, male malis; quod nunc abest".

Telamo, moreover, with one verse settles the whole subject of why the gods neglect mortals: "for if they cared, there would be prosperity for good men, and misfortune for wicked men; but this is not the case".⁷⁷

⁷⁴ *Ann.* 302 contains a poetic description of the Strait of Gibraltar, a narrow body of water dividing Spain and North Africa (*Europam Libyamque rapax ubi dividit unda*). Cicero also uses the line at *N.D.* 3.24 and *Tusc.* 1.45.

⁷⁵ *Cic. Off.* 1.38.

⁷⁶ Jocelyn (1967) 61-2. This is not to say that Cicero refrained from giving the title of the work that he was citing, as is clear at *Ac.* 2.51, where a tragic verse is introduced as being from Ennius' (represented by *idem*) *Epicharmus: idemque in Epicharmo*.

⁷⁷ *Cic. N.D.* 3.79.

In this passage the words are presented not as the work of a poet, but as the words of Telamo, with the accompanying claim that his expression is sufficient as evidence regarding the gods' indifference toward mortals. It is important to remember that Ennius, by reason of the authority attached to his name, occupies a vital role in the arguments for which he is called upon as evidence. There are several possible reasons why Cicero would choose to do this with the dramatic works, without doing so with the *Annales*. It may be that Cicero felt a need to differentiate between the large corpus of Ennian tragedies, and one way of doing this was to specify the speaker of the quoted verse. By attributing the line to a particular dramatic character, Cicero also made it easier for the reader to identify the work from which the citation had come. This makes sense considering that the number of citations from Ennius' tragedies doubles that of the *Annales*,⁷⁸ and the subsequent need to differentiate the large number of tragedies that he actually cites. It is important to note, however, that there are no similar attempts at differentiating quotations from any of the eighteen books that make up the *Annales*.⁷⁹ To complicate the situation further, when discussing Epicurean beliefs regarding the existence of the divine in the *De Divinatione*, Cicero quotes from the *Telamo* twice, attributing the quotations to Ennius instead of Telamo himself.⁸⁰

The idea that Cicero attributed the tragic verses to their speakers as a way of distinguishing between the various tragedies gains some traction when we take into account the fact that in some cases he appended the authors' name to the name of the speaker. Cicero is likely to be doing either of two things: separating a Latin poet's treatment of a particular story from its Greek counterpart, or, more frequently,

⁷⁸ Zetzel (2007) 3.

⁷⁹ Only at *Brut.* 58 does Ennius specifically label the *Annales* as a source. He also gives a book reference, but the citation comes with a remark (*ut opinor*) suggesting dubious accuracy. Skutsch suggests that if Cicero was doubtful about the book number "he would not, in this of all instances, have added the number"; furthermore, Vahlen gives the credible explanation that *ut opinor* was an attempt on Cicero's behalf to "avoid the impression of pedantry in his dialogue" (a common Classical trope); see Skutsch (1985) 27, 482. In my opinion, Cicero only gives the *Annales*' title at this citation because his subject-matter has shifted from orators for whom no record of their rhetorical skill and its appreciation exists, to orators for whom that information does exist. Because of this, context would seem to require him to give the source of his information. I will examine this passage in greater detail on p. 61 of the following chapter.

⁸⁰ Cic. *Div.* 1.132, 2.104. In Book 3 of the *Tusculanae* there are three citations from the *Telamo*. Two of the three are attributed to Telamo (*Tusc.* 3.39, 58), with the remaining fragment quoted without any authorial acknowledgement (3.28); for commentary and his reservations as to Cicero's accuracy in attributing the verse to Telamo, see Jocelyn (1967) 394-5.

distinguishing between two Latin treatments of the same tragedy.⁸¹ Examples of this practice can be seen in *ut Ennii Alcmaeo*⁸² and *Neoptolemus Ennii*,⁸³ which demonstrate the blend of both character and author. This form of introduction is used more regularly for the tragedies, and is only used once in regard to a verse from the *Annales*. The passage, cited in the *De Divinatione*, mirrors a citation practice also used for the tragic works:

Narrat enim <et> apud Ennium Vestalis illa:

For that famous Vestal [Ilia] in Ennius recalls [her dream thus]:⁸⁴

Compare:

Ut illa apud Ennium nutrix:

Just like the well-known nurse [of Medea] in Ennius:⁸⁵

The fact that the practice of attributing a quotation to both author and speaker occurs only once with lines from the *Annales* is indicative of both the different way in which the *Annales* was treated in comparison with the tragedies, and of the importance of Ennius' name in the arguments of the philosophical works. Whereas Pyrrhus stands alone next to the quotation, as I noted earlier, here the verse is assigned to the Ilia of Ennius. The phrase *apud Ennium* is itself also worthy of note. It is used ten times by Cicero, of which four are used in relation to the *Annales*.⁸⁶ The remaining six appearances of *apud Ennium* are found in the *De Oratore*, the *Tusculanae*, and the *De Officiis*, used alongside dramatic verses.⁸⁷ Within the context of the *De Divinatione*, by attributing the dream to Ilia (*Vestalis illa*) Cicero is able to ensure that the reader

⁸¹ Jocelyn (1967) 178-9.

⁸² Cic. *Fin.* 4.62.

⁸³ Cic. *Rep.* 1.30.

⁸⁴ Cic. *Div.* 1.40.

⁸⁵ Cic. *Tusc.* 3.63.

⁸⁶ Three, all appearing in the *De Divinatione*, are used at citation-introductions (*Div.* 1.40, 1.107, 2.116) while the fourth occurs in the *De Re Publica* and refers to content found within the *Annales* (*Rep.* 1.25).

⁸⁷ Cic. *De Orat.* 1.199, 2.156; *Tusc.* 1.106, 2.1, 3.63; *Off.* 1.26. Within Varro's *De Lingua Latina*, *apud Ennium* is also used in conjunction with both the *Annales* and the tragedies; in regard to the *Annales* it is used for five of his thirty-one citations.

understands exactly which Roman myth he is referring to, and by naming Ennius he is able to take advantage of his position as a cultural authority for matters of Roman religion.

In looking at the *De Divinatione*, I showed that Cicero does, on one occasion at least, attribute an *Annales* line to a character, although still making it clear that Ennius is its source. In doing this he distinguishes whose version of the Ilia story he is citing, while also making use of Ennius' authoritative capital. With this in mind, another question arises: if it is so important to ensure that Ennius' name is present at citations used within an argumentative context, how could Cicero attribute a quotation to Pyrrhus with no authorial acknowledgement?

Ennius' *Annales* is only quoted twice in the *De Officiis*,⁸⁸ and in each case the quotation is used as an *exemplum*. At *De Officiis* 1.84 Cicero cites a three-line verse (*Ann.* 363-5) describing Fabius Maximus' battle strategy against Hannibal, as a way of contrasting his selfless behaviour with that of two Spartan kings who put their reputation before the safety of their homeland.⁸⁹ The other citation, appearing earlier at *De Officiis* 1.38, also performs an exemplary role; however, on this occasion, the *exemplum* is an enemy of Rome, not a Roman hero. At this juncture of the treatise, Cicero is discussing the difference between wars fought for survival and wars fought for empire. As examples of the former, he cites the Celtiberians and the Cimbrians, and as examples of the latter he names the Latins, Sabines, Samnites, Carthaginians, and Pyrrhus.⁹⁰ Following this, Cicero establishes a contrast between Hannibal of

⁸⁸ Interestingly, the *De Officiis* contains more citations from the tragedies than from the *Annales*; however, of the tragic fragments that can be assigned to a text, no play is cited more than once, thus making the *Annales* the most cited of Ennius' works.

⁸⁹ Cic. *Off.* 1.84. Of note is the peculiar method of citation here: *Quanto Q. Maximus melius, de quo Ennius....* This is reminiscent of *Sen.* 10, where the Ennian quotation was introduced thus: *de quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius*. If the adverb *praeclare* and adjectives *familiaris noster* are omitted, we are left with *de quo Ennius*, which perfectly reflects the citation-phrase used in the *De Officiis*. Of added interest is that fact that both citations involve the same verse describing Fabius Maximus' strategy of "delaying" (*Ann.* 363-5). Servius, in his commentary on the *Aeneid*, uses virtually the same method of citation when quoting the first line of the three-line verse quoted by Cicero (*ille est de quo Ennius ait*; see Serv. *Aen.* 6.845); the only difference is that Servius has included a verb of speaking (*ait*), which is implied in the Ciceronian citations. These three instances are the only times, in all Latin literature, at which *de quo Ennius* is used to introduce a citation, and they all quote the same piece of Ennian verse.

⁹⁰ Dyck's commentary on the *De Officiis* makes some interesting observations on Cicero's inclusion of the Celtiberians in this list and Cicero's one-sided view of warfare. For example, Cicero divides wars into two categories, those fought for survival and those fought for *imperium*, without realizing that one side's battle for supremacy is another side's battle for survival; see Dyck (1996) 148-9.

Carthage, and Pyrrhus, as he introduces an eight-line speech delivered in Book 6 of the *Annales* (Ann. 183-90):

Poeni foedifragi,⁹¹ crudelis Hannibal, reliqui iustiores. Pyrrhi quidem de captivis reddendis illa praeclara...

The Carthaginians were treaty-breakers, Hannibal was cruel, the rest, however, were more just. Indeed, those famous words of Pyrrhus regarding the return of prisoners are splendid...⁹²

The speech-fragment, which is cited to qualify Cicero's claim that other enemies were more just than the Carthaginians (*reliqui iustiores*), contains Pyrrhus' response to the Roman embassy, led by Gaius Fabricius, who are hoping to pay a ransom in return for the Romans captured at the battle of Heraclea.⁹³ In the eight-line speech, Pyrrhus magnanimously returns the captives to the Romans unconditionally, adding that the war will be won by iron, not gold. Essentially, Pyrrhus wants fair combat, with fate (*Fortuna*) deciding the victor. Now we are left to answer the question of why Cicero did not introduce the speech as being from *Pyrrhus Ennii*. It is by looking at the context that we are able to determine Cicero's reason for omitting Ennius' name. In the argument, Cicero is contrasting between two different types of enemy fought by Rome: the untrustworthy, represented by Hannibal and Carthage, and the trustworthy, represented by Pyrrhus. The speech, therefore, is intended to represent the character of Pyrrhus, and is introduced as though recalled verbatim from the historical Pyrrhus.⁹⁴

Certainly, educated readers would have recognized the verses as belonging to Ennius, particularly because Book 6 – the book containing this episode in Roman

⁹¹ It has been proposed that the phrase *Poeni foedifragi* actually belongs to the *Annales*, which, if so, demonstrates Cicero's creativity in beginning and ending a digression with quotations from the *Annales* – though there is a significant difference in size; see Skutsch (1985) 781-2, Dyck (1996) 149.

⁹² Cic. *Off.* 1.38.

⁹³ Skutsch (1985) 348.

⁹⁴ Elliott describes Cicero's attitude toward using Ennius' Pyrrhus in his argument when she writes that "his interest in Ennius' useful representation here as elsewhere trumps interest in the historical reality it conceals"; Elliott (2013) 169.

history – was widely read by Romans of Cicero’s day.⁹⁵ Moreover, the mere citation of the *Annales* here confers a degree of *auctoritas* upon the argument that Cicero is composing. In my opinion, there is a case to be made that Cicero, in spite of his audience’s recognition of the speech, attempted to influence its reception by directing their attention away from its Ennian authorship. The role of the quotation is not only to contrast Pyrrhus with Hannibal, but also to illustrate “the kind of restraint possible in a conflict not for survival but supremacy (*imperium*)”.⁹⁶ The reader’s focus needs to be on Pyrrhus, as he is the figure being held up as the *exemplum*. By assigning the excerpt to Ennius, Cicero would have taken the words out of Pyrrhus’ mouth and put them into Ennius’, thereby making the sentiment of the speech belong to Ennius, not Pyrrhus. In raising the possibility that the words did not belong to Pyrrhus, Cicero would have defeated one of the purposes of the quotation, which was to show that Pyrrhus himself was of higher moral standing than his Carthaginian counterpart, Hannibal. The *apud Ennium* used in the *De Divinatione* when citing Ilia’s dream provides an example of what Cicero hoped to avoid in the *De Officiis*. When he attributed the speech to the Ilia of Ennius, he made it clear that the words of Ilia’s speech represented the tradition Ennius was following, effectively placing the emphasis on Ennius, not Ilia. If Cicero employed a similar method of citation in the *De Officiis*, he would have shifted the reader’s attention away from Pyrrhus, and thus the moral superiority that Pyrrhus was supposed to represent would have been shifted to Ennius. Moreover, it seems that authority is not as important as authenticity here, and this authenticity is preserved through both the exclusion of Ennius as a source, and the comments made by Cicero *after* the quotation:

Regalis sane et digna Aeacidarum genere sententia!

Truly a kingly sentiment, and worthy of the race of the Aeacids!⁹⁷

⁹⁵ “Ennius’ sixth book, dealing with Rome’s first engagements against a Greek commander, was obviously read with more attention by Romans of the later republic and empire than any book between the first Romulean narrative and the triad dealing with the two Punic Wars”; Fantham (2006) 551. Of the speech fragment itself, Fantham writes that “the whole speech, with its ideology of liberty as the reward of valor vouchsafed by both Fortune and the gods, must have been a favorite with teachers of rhetoric well before Cicero used it to make his moral argument in *de Officiis*”; Fantham (2006) 560.

⁹⁶ Fantham (2006) 560.

⁹⁷ Cic. *Off.* 1.38.

With this line, the sentiment of the speech receives an “expression of approval”, which as Dyck points out is rare for a non-Roman in the *De Officiis*.⁹⁸ More important, however, is Cicero’s reiteration that the words belong to Pyrrhus. Not only is the speech introduced as the splendid words of Pyrrhus (*Pyrrhi.... illa... praeclara*), but the phrase following the quotation reaffirms his assertion that the content of the speech reflects Pyrrhus’ nobility. In this way Cicero presents the speech as authentically Pyrrhus’ by both omitting any hint of Ennian authorship and repeatedly attributing the sentiment of the quotation directly to the Macedonian king.

The practice of manipulating his audience’s perception of a quotation’s source is evident elsewhere in Cicero’s corpus, and a fitting passage for comparison can be found in the *Pro Balbo*. The introduction of this citation is apt not only because it demonstrates another instance of Cicero attempting to influence the reception of a quotation, but also because it concerns Hannibal, the general against whom Pyrrhus acted as a foil in the *De Officiis*. The two generals were viewed as polar opposites in the Roman world, with Pyrrhus presented as “a model of chivalry and noblesse oblige”⁹⁹ and Hannibal occupying the position of a “bogeyman”¹⁰⁰ renowned for his exceptional cruelty.¹⁰¹ Keeping in mind the hostile perception of Hannibal held by most Romans, we can explain the following quotation-introduction from the *Pro Balbo*:

Neque enim ille summus poeta noster Hannibalis illam magis cohortationem quam communem imperatoriam voluit esse:

⁹⁸ Dyck (1996) 150.

⁹⁹ Fantham (2006) 559.

¹⁰⁰ Gruen (2011) 115. The consensus among scholars is that the characterisation of Hannibal as a cruel and barbarous figure is unfair and in need of re-evaluation; for examples, see Gruen (2011), Chlup (2009), and Canter (1929).

¹⁰¹ In the *De Amicitia* Cicero himself elaborates on Rome’s attitude toward two of her most dangerous adversaries. He explains that “with two leaders, Pyrrhus and Hannibal, there was a fight for dominion in Italy; for one, because of his uprightness, we have no hostile feelings; while this state will always hate the other because of his cruelty” (*cum duobus ducibus de imperio in Italia est decertatum, Pyrrho et Hannibale; ab altero propter probitatem eius non nimis alienos animos habemus; alterum propter crudelitatem semper haec civitas oderit*; Cic. Am. 28).

Nor did that famous, greatest poet of ours [i.e. Ennius] wish for that exhortation to be Hannibal's alone rather than the common sentiment of all generals:¹⁰²

Compare:

Poeni foedifragi, crudelis Hannibal, reliqui iustiores. Pyrrhi quidem de captivis reddendis illa praeclara...

The Carthaginians were treaty-breakers, Hannibal was cruel, the rest, however, were more just. Indeed, those famous words of Pyrrhus regarding the return of prisoners are splendid...¹⁰³

This citation-introduction is useful for an analysis of Cicero's citation-methods. Within it there is a degree of authority-building, manipulation of content, and an answer to the question posed in my examination of the quotation of Pyrrhus' speech in the *De Officiis*. The *Pro Balbo* is a legal speech in defense of Lucius Cornelius Balbus, who was charged with "having usurped the Roman citizenship"¹⁰⁴ after he was enfranchised by Pompey. To give the quotation context, Cicero has just listed a series of Roman generals who had bestowed Roman citizenship upon men who had fought for them. Cicero follows these examples with a quotation from the *Annales*, in which Hannibal exhorts his men by telling them that regardless of their place of birth, he will consider them Carthaginians if they fight alongside him. The incorporation of this quotation from the *Annales* serves a more moral purpose than a legal one, as the conventions of Carthaginian society would, obviously, have no legal bearing in Roman society.

The first aspect to note in comparison with *De Officiis* 1.38 is that the words are not attributed to Hannibal, but to Ennius. In this way the words are taken out of Hannibal's mouth and placed into Ennius'. The audience would likely have recognized that the line's author was Ennius; however, in this case Cicero is not trying to obscure the author, but change the way that the quotation is received. Unlike

¹⁰² Cic. *Balb.* 51.

¹⁰³ Cic. *Off.* 1.38.

¹⁰⁴ Brunt (1982) 136.

Pyrrhus, who was remembered as chivalrous and honourable, a statement from Hannibal would have carried little weight in the minds of his Roman audience, and so attributing the verse to Ennius effectively removes any possibility that the sentiment belonged to Hannibal. In a further step to diminish the likelihood that the sentiment expressed in the verse could have come from Hannibal, Cicero gives his own interpretation of Ennius' intentions for writing.¹⁰⁵ He does so by claiming that Ennius did not want the idea encapsulated in the verse to be seen as belonging specifically to Hannibal, but rather to be seen as reflecting the attitudes of all generals. This is indicative of a concerted effort on Cicero's behalf to alter his audience's reception of the citation, changing it from a Hannibalic exhortation, to a nugget of Ennian wisdom.

There are, however, more aspects to this citation that are worthy of consideration. It is important to note that Ennius is not named directly, just as he is not named when quoted in the *Pro Murena*.¹⁰⁶ Instead of the more allusive methods of authority-construction that will be discussed later in this thesis, the legal speeches, because they are meant to be spoken to an audience, require more direct means of establishing authority; therefore, instead of the more allusive techniques, the very aspects of Ennius' authority that Cicero needs to emphasize are used in place of his name. As he does in the *Pro Murena*, he pays homage to Ennius' poetic status by naming him the *summus poeta*, although perhaps more important is the title, *noster*. Ennius and Hannibal were both foreigners to Rome – although Ennius did later receive citizenship – and by describing Ennius as *noster* and bringing him out of the world of foreigners into the Roman world, he further separates him from Hannibal.

In attempting to answer the question of why Cicero would attribute a passage from the *Annales* directly to Pyrrhus, another question must be answered: if Hannibal was so hated by the Romans, and Cicero had made a concerted effort to direct authorship of the quotation to Ennius, why has he bothered to name Hannibal at all? While citing from Rome's "most revered epic poet"¹⁰⁷ would certainly have added authority to his argument, citing the attitude of Hannibal toward his subordinates would certainly have affected Cicero's audience on an emotional level. As Barber

¹⁰⁵ Other instances of the manipulation and reinterpretation of Ennius' *Annales* can be found at *Mur.* 30 and *Rep.* 1.64

¹⁰⁶ As noted in the previous chapter (p.13), Ennius is described as *ingeniosus poeta et auctor valde bonus*; Cic. *Mur.* 30.

¹⁰⁷ Barber (2012) 75.

points out, Hannibal does not provide a legal precedent for the enfranchisement of foreigners, but an emotional one.¹⁰⁸ By retaining Hannibal's name, Cicero can use the *a fortiori* argument, as if to ask "if Hannibal, that brute, shows such gratitude to those who risked their lives for him, why is that beyond us Romans?" If Cicero had named Ennius alone, the argument would have gained the authority inherent in his name; however, in naming both Ennius *and* Hannibal, Cicero is able to appeal to their respect for authority and their distaste for the Carthaginian general at the same time.

Conclusion

One of Cicero's stated motives for using distinguished historical Romans as the speakers in his treatises is to give authority to the ideas he unfolds. In addition to giving weight to the philosophical concepts, these speakers also give credibility to the presentation of sources, in this case, Ennius. This by-product of the employment of eminent figures was clearly understood by Cicero, as he exploits the authoritative capital of these speakers in each work. More specifically, with regard to Cato and the *De Senectute*, Cicero also takes advantage of the relationship between Cato and Ennius, raising Ennius' prestige by reminding the reader that he was among Cato's intimates. This is achieved through the introduction of Ennius as *familiaris noster*, at *De Senectute* 10. At this juncture, Cicero not only plays upon the relationship between Cato and Ennius, but also upon the relationship between Cato and Fabius. In his introductory description of Fabius, Cato reminisces about time he spent in the army of Fabius, thus setting him up as the appropriate figure for validating the historicity of Ennius' summary of Fabius' tactics. Having Cato judge the quality of citations is one of the methods by which Cicero constructs the authority of Ennius, and it is achieved by simple placement of an adverb beside the quotation.

Judgements of historical reliability and poetic content are made at *De Senectute* 10 and 50, through the use of *praeclare* and *recte*; however, it is possible, even if unlikely, that *praeclare* is intended to refer to poetic style instead of content. It may be that Cicero selected *praeclare* precisely for this ambiguity, since he could have easily chosen to use a word similar to *recte*, which leaves no question as to its function in the sentence. Cicero's choice of *gravissime* at *De Senectute* 16 differs

¹⁰⁸ Barber (2012) 56.

from *praeclare* and *recte* in two main areas: it is ambiguous in meaning, referring either to the gravity of the words spoken by Appius and recorded by Ennius, or to the weighty subject-matter, or to the style of Ennius' poetry; it does *not* address the historical reliability of the quotation. This difference is easily explained, because Cicero asserts the citation's historical credibility by mentioning the existence of a copy of Appius' speech, and implicitly raising the possibility that Ennius' verse rendering is a faithful reproduction of the original speech.

Pyrrhus and Hannibal, in Roman eyes, represent different extremes of generalship, and this is reflected in their respective uses in Cicero's works. In the *De Officiis*, Cicero breaks away from his normal practice of attributing *Annales* citations to Ennius, when used in an argumentative context, by attributing a large passage of speech directly to Pyrrhus. The reason for this lies in a desire for authenticity more than authority. While citing Ennius brings a degree of authority to the argument, Cicero's intent is to present the content of the speech as belonging to Pyrrhus, since it provides evidence of Pyrrhus' character and his moral superiority over Rome's other major enemies, the treaty-breaking Carthaginians (*Poeni foedifragi*). Indeed, in the argument Cicero strives to convince his readers that the sentiment of the speech belongs to Pyrrhus. This is accomplished with comments positioned before and after the citation to emphasize the nobility of the words, and to attribute the sense to Pyrrhus. This authenticity would have been weakened if Ennius' name had been present at the introduction of the citation. While it might technically have been possible to name Pyrrhus the *Pyrrhus Ennii*, or introduce the speech with the phrase "as Ennius said of Pyrrhus" (*ut Ennius de Pyrrho dixit*) or "Pyrrhus said those splendid words in Ennius' work" (*dixit apud Ennium Pyrrhus illa praeclara*),¹⁰⁹ this would have detracted from the overall presentation of Pyrrhus as morally virtuous, as the speech would be taken from Pyrrhus' mouth and delivered through Ennius'. Ultimately, this would have been detrimental to Cicero's representation of Pyrrhus as morally superior to the Carthaginians. On the other end of the spectrum, we find a line cited in a legal speech actually taken out of the mouth of its speaker, Hannibal, and returned to Ennius. In each work, Cicero is emphasizing the morally correct way to act; however, in the case of the *Pro Balbo*, Hannibal's words are strengthened precisely because they are put back into the mouth of Rome's *summus poeta*. While a

¹⁰⁹ Echoing the *narrat... apud Ennium Vestalis illa* from *Div. 1.40*.

Roman audience might respond favourably to, or at least tacitly accept, Pyrrhus being portrayed as exemplary, it is likely that they would have been critical of Hannibal playing the same role. By citing Ennius as the source of the quotation, we can see that in this case authority was preferred to authenticity,¹¹⁰ and that the importance of the speaker could be paramount to the delivery of a persuasive argument. In much the same way we return to the first part of this chapter and the influence that figures such as Cato could have not only on the presentation of Ennius as authoritative, but on the philosophical treatise as a whole. Through this process of attributing either a verse or a dialogue to a particular speaker, Cicero was able to both preserve and strengthen the arguments he presented.

¹¹⁰ This is not to say that Cicero sought *either* authority *or* authenticity, with one preferred at the expense the other. The two goals are not mutually exclusive, since citations from the *Annales* are inherently authoritative. The aim of this section was to show that Cicero could, and did, attribute lines from the *Annales* to figures from the poem in order to alter the quotation's reception within the argument.

Chapter 3

The Authority of Knowledge: Ennius at *De Re Publica* 1.25

With an examination of the role that speakers could play in both dialogues and quotations complete, we are now in a position to take a different, all-inclusive approach to considering the ways that Cicero asserts or constructs the literary authority of Ennius and his *Annales*. In the following two chapters I shall look at two distinct passages from Cicero, in which he makes use of a variety of authority-building techniques. In examining each technique used to construct Ennius' authority, I shall call upon other instances of its application from the wider corpus of Cicero's philosophical works. This will allow me to present a complete picture of how each authority-building measure was implemented and the ultimate effect it had on the presentation of Ennius. Two passages, in particular, one from the *De Re Publica* and the other from the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, exemplify the various modes of authority-construction and appeal to different aspects of *auctoritas*. The passage from the *De Re Publica* focuses on presenting Ennius as learned and a Roman counterpart for various Greek intellectuals, whereas the passage from the *Tusculanae* concentrates on Ennius' position in Roman tradition and the authority derived from *antiquitas*.

The *De Re Publica*, composed from 54 to 51 B.C., stands apart from the philosophical works written by Cicero throughout the following decade.¹¹¹ The circumstances surrounding its composition, and, indeed Cicero's lower opinion of the value of philosophers at this time, are in marked contrast to both his circumstances and subsequent attitude while writing the philosophical works of the 40s.¹¹² This is not to say that he had no philosophical interest prior to the 40s, and it is quite clear that he relies heavily on the works of Plato for much of the political philosophy of the

¹¹¹ Griffin and Atkins (1991) xxxi.

¹¹² In the 40s B.C. while he was in exile, Cicero immersed himself in philosophy, publishing the bulk of his philosophical corpus. In the 50s, however, he appears to have had a more restrained attitude toward philosophy. Fittingly for this study, we can see that Cicero actually quotes Ennius twice in the *De Re Publica* to express his belief that philosophers are less significant than statesmen (*Rep.* 1.3, citing *Ann.* 590) and that philosophy should be approached in moderation (*Rep.* 1.30 – and again at *De Orat.* 2.156) – citing *Scen.* 28 (see Jocelyn [1967] 252-3), although he uses the same quotation (*Scen.* 28) at *Tusc.* 2.1 when talking about his immersion into philosophy. Michael von Albrecht describes the difference thus: “In the earlier group [*De Re Publica*, *De Legibus*] philosophy is not yet separated from practice, whereas in the later writings philosophy is pursued for its own sake”; von Albrecht (2003) 45.

De Re Publica, with the Stoic Panaetius also providing some political theories.¹¹³ Although Cicero's attitude toward philosophy changed over the decades, the methods of authority-building, honed through his years as an orator, stand firm throughout his works. This is particularly evident in the case of the *De Re Publica* and the *De Senectute*, which, although composed almost ten years apart, parallel each other in terms of the method of authority-construction employed by Cicero. These methods involve the establishment of authority by "implication" and "association". With regard to "implication", Cicero may not make a direct statement, but one that will instead imply that Ennius is authoritative for a particular topic. The best way to demonstrate this would be the following formula: Ennius did or did not do X (with evidence supplied), and therefore Ennius is or is not Y. The other method, "association", bestows authority on two levels: there is a transfer of collective *gravitas* – and thus *auctoritas* – from the figures with whom Ennius is being associated, combined with the authority derived from Ennius' assimilation, be it with scientists, philosophers, or cultural authorities. In this passage from the *De Re Publica*, Scipio, a speaker in the dialogue, argues for the importance of astronomical studies, with Ennius' *Annales* cited for the description of the eclipse, which purportedly took place three hundred and fifty years after Rome's foundation.¹¹⁴ According to Scipio, Ennius' understanding of the nature of eclipses allowed him to date the death of Romulus accurately, thus showing the importance of the study of the stars. Jackie Elliott succinctly sums up the presentation of the *Annales* here when she says "Cicero's speaker, Scipio, treats the *Annales* as a repository of arcane as well as highly accurate facts about the cosmos, as capable as the foremost politicians and most respected sages of the ancient world of freeing people from ignorance and superstition".¹¹⁵

Implication

When discussing sources of authority in the first chapter I noted several sources of authority, one of which was education (*doctrina*).¹¹⁶ The importance of *doctrina* to *auctoritas* can be stated simply. Since a literary *auctor* was one who was

¹¹³ Keyes (1961) 6-8.

¹¹⁴ Skutsch (1985) 311-2, Zetzel (1995) 116, and Keyes (1961) 46 all argue that the eclipse referred to here occurred on June 21, 400 B.C.

¹¹⁵ Elliott (2013) 172-3.

¹¹⁶ See p. 17f.

regarded as a “master of his subject” and a reliable source, it makes sense for Cicero to present his source as being learned in whatever field was being discussed.¹¹⁷ *Sapiens*, however, is somewhat more difficult to relate back to *auctoritas*, as Cicero does not openly list wisdom as a source of *auctoritas*. Despite the lack of evidence specifically stating a relationship between the terms, we can infer a relationship between *sapientia* and *auctoritas* through a consideration of the way that *sapientia* is treated by Cicero at the beginning of the *De Amicitia*. He justifies his selection of Laelius as the principle interlocutor of the work by emphasizing both his wisdom and suitability for a discussion of friendship.¹¹⁸ At *De Amicitia* 6, Cicero, through the agency of the speaker Fannius, gives two examples of Romans who possessed *sapientia* and explains the reasons for which they were recognized as being wise, before elaborating on Laelius’ own wisdom.¹¹⁹ Thomas Habinek has observed that “the repeated insistence on Laelius’ wisdom and the extended discussion of its nature and origin seem designed not only to establish his authority as a spokesman for ideal conduct but also to balance the more noteworthy accomplishments of Scipio”.¹²⁰ Laelius’ *sapientia* is a result not only of his nature (*natura*)¹²¹ and characteristics (*mores*), but also his study (*studium*) and education (*doctrina*), each of which was listed at *Topica* 78 as being sources of personal authority. From this, a link between *auctoritas* and *sapientia* can be established, with Laelius’ authority as a speaker directly connected to his wisdom. As a combination of authoritative factors, *sapientia* becomes itself authoritative. A further example of this can be found at *Topica* 73, where Cicero lists a series of personal circumstances that contribute to one’s *auctoritas*, of which age (*aetas*) and experience (*usus*)¹²² are two. Wisdom, it can be

¹¹⁷ The *auctoritas* of education is also evident at *Orat.* 171-2 where Cicero, criticizing contemporary orators who only copy the bad aspects of ancient orators (*qui nihil illorum nisi vitium secuntur*), asks whether even the authority of the educated would be enough to move them (... *ne doctissimorum quidem virorum eos movebit auctoritas*).

¹¹⁸ *Cic. Am.* 6-8.

¹¹⁹ The two Romans mentioned by Fannius are Lucius Acilius and Marcus Cato. Acilius’ wisdom attributed to his skill in the world of civil law (*Acilius quia prudens esse in iure civili putabatur*), while Cato is wise by virtue of his experience, foresight, resolute conduct, and intelligent responses (*Cato quia multarum rerum usus habebat et multa eius et in senatu et in foro vel provisa prudenter vel acta constanter vel responsa acute ferebantur*).

¹²⁰ Habinek (2006) 483.

¹²¹ In summing up *Top.* 73, Wallach writes that “an extrinsic argument rests on testimony (*testimonium*), which, in turn, relies on authority (*auctoritas*) conferred by either *natura* or *tempus*. The authority of *natura* stems from *virtus*, while *ingenium*, *opes*, *aetas*, *fortuna*, *ars*, *usus*, *necessitas*, and the *concurso etiam nonnumquam rerum fortuitarum* are all elements in *tempore* which produce authority”; Wallach (1989) 328.

¹²² Consider also the quotation from the *De Amicitia* in the preceding footnote, wherein *usus* is given as one of the sources of Cato’s wisdom. The role of *usus* in *sapientia* is reiterated in a line from Afranius,

argued, is a result of both age and experience; hence, when speaking of a sagacious youth, we say that they have “wisdom beyond his or her years”. Again, the logical conclusion is that wisdom must be just as authoritative as the factors it is comprised of.¹²³

In the *De Re Publica*, Cicero cites Ennius for his description of an eclipse, with the intention of carving out authority for him as a reliable source for astronomical science. A parallel for this appears in the *De Senectute*, in which Ennius is depicted as a figure of wisdom. In both texts Cicero appeals to knowledge when constructing Ennius’ authority, doing so in a quasi-cryptic method that implies rather than stating directly. In order to bring about each implication of Ennius’ authority, Cicero employs the rhetorical device, litotes, in which a negative phrase is used to make a positive statement.

Id autem postea ne nostrum quidem Ennium fugit; qui ut¹²⁴ scribit, anno quinquagesimo <et> CCC fere post Romam conditam “Nonis Iunis soli luna obstitit et nox”.

Moreover, later it [i.e. astronomy] did not even escape our Ennius; as he wrote, on approximately the three hundred and fiftieth year after Rome’s foundation: “On the fifth of June, the moon and night obscured the sun”.¹²⁵

The construction of Ennius’ education (*doctrina*) is contained in the line *id autem postea ne nostrum quidem Ennium fugit*. *Id* refers to astronomy, a pursuit whose

Ennius’ younger contemporary, in which he has the personified Wisdom declare that she is the product of both experience and memory (*Usus me genuit, mater peperit Memoria / Sophiam vocant Graei, vos Sapientiam*). Interestingly, Gellius (13.8.3) writes that, in Afranius’ view, wisdom is *not* gained through the reading of books or the learning of rhetoric, but through real life experience. The equation of *sophia* and *sapientia* present in Afranius’ verse can also be found at *Ann.* 211 (*nec quisquam sophiam, sapientia quae perhibetur*).

¹²³ To illustrate this point about the authority of age further, Cato, in the *De Senectute*, states that authority is the crown of old age (*apex est autem senectutis auctoritas*); *Cic. Sen.* 61.

¹²⁴ As the statement on Ennius’ lack of ignorance is followed by *ut scribit*, the presence of *ut* would suggest that the verse introduced by *scribit* is acting as evidence of Scipio’s assertion.

¹²⁵ *Cic. Rep.* 1.25. It must be noted that the accuracy of the date given in the poetic fragment has been called into question. Skutsch points out that the correct date is likely either the 5 June or 21 June (based on modern calculations), and I have ensured that this is reflected in my translation. If the pre-Julian calendar was a lunar calendar, then the eclipse could not have occurred on the Nones; see Skutsch (1985) 313.

worth has just been illustrated through a series of examples of Greek and Roman intellectuals who had studied and understood the nature of eclipses. The phrase *ne quidem fugit* shows that even Ennius was not ignorant of the study. While Scipio does not state specifically that Ennius was educated in the field of astronomy, by saying that he was not unfamiliar with the study and quoting his description of the eclipse, he implies that Ennius understood the science and could thus be considered an authority. The utilisation of litotes is clear when we consider the formula for implication, which can be read as denoting that Ennius did not shun astronomy (with *Ann.* 153 cited as evidence), and therefore he knew it and can be considered an authority. It is also important to note that Cicero makes it clear that Ennius' understanding of this Greek science enabled him to give a specific date for Romulus' apotheosis.¹²⁶ One of the quotations from Ennius in the *De Senectute* parallels this passage in its construction of Ennius' authority, employing the technique of implication to present him as an intellectual. At *De Senectute* 14, Cato presents Ennius as a wise, knowledgeable figure:

Sua enim vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem conferunt. Quod non faciebat is cuius modo mentionem feci Ennius: "Sicuti fortis equus, spatio qui saepe supremo vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectus quiescit". Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam.

For fools link their vices to their old age. Ennius, of whom I recently made mention, did not do this: "Just as a strong horse, who often won in the Olympic games on the final lap, now rests weakened with weariness". He compares his own old age to that of a brave and victorious racehorse.¹²⁷

The first thing to note is the way that Cato refers to Ennius when reminding the other participants in the dialogue, Scipio and Laelius (as well as Cicero's readers), that it is

¹²⁶ Cicero, by presenting Greek studies as being useful in Roman contexts, makes an effort to legitimize his own philosophical project, in which he introduced a great deal of Greek philosophical concepts into Rome.

¹²⁷ *Sen.* 14. If we bring together the adjectives used to describe Ennius, gleaned from both the implication and Cicero's own commentary after the quotation, we see Ennius labelled as *sapiens*, *fortis*, and *victor*; cf. Hor. *Epist.* 2.50-1, in which Horace "summarizes the critical assessment of Ennius as 'wise and brave and a second Homer'" (*Ennius et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus, ut critici dicunt*). For an examination of Horace's treatment of Ennius here, see Brink (1982) 82-3, 91-8.

the same Ennius whom he has previously cited. The phrase *cuius modo mentionem feci* recalls comments made about Ennius at *De Senectute* 10, essentially carrying them over. With this in mind, the term *familiaris noster* and all the implications that come with it, such as the fact that Cato vouched for Ennius' authority, are brought back into the audience's mind. Likewise, the *praeclare* that was applied earlier to Ennius' summary of Fabius' delaying tactics could be carried over and applied to the racehorse analogy that Cicero has quoted as evidence of Ennius' attitude toward old age. Important for this section, however, is the implication that Ennius, because of his attitude toward old age, possesses the trait of wisdom (*sapiens*). This is made clear through the contrast of Ennius' attitude with those who are classed as fools (*insipientes*), because they, unlike Ennius, blamed their vices and faults on their old age. We are left, then, with the implication that far from being *insipiens*, Ennius was *sapiens*. The formula for this instance of implication would thus be that Ennius did not hold the same views as foolish men (with the racehorse analogy of *Ann.* 522 cited as evidence), and therefore Ennius was, in fact, wise. Just as he was portrayed as being familiar with astronomy through the claim that he is not ignorant of the study, likewise he is presented as wise precisely because he did not share the attitudes of the unwise (*insipientes*).¹²⁸ Similarly, just as litotes was used in the depiction of Ennius as an astronomical authority, we can see that it is also used to present Ennius as a figure of wisdom. Thus, Cicero appeals to the authority of education and knowledge, emphasizing that aspect of his character as a way to depict him ultimately as a credible source.

Association

Association is a method of authority-construction, in which *gravitas* – and therefore *auctoritas* – is bestowed through a transfer of *gravitas* from one group or individual (e.g. Thales) to another (e.g. Ennius). In the case of Ennius, he is integrated into groups featuring prominent intellectuals, which confers *gravitas* on him by association, while also presenting him as an expert in a particular field. This technique of association, moreover, serves a secondary purpose, legitimizing Cicero's

¹²⁸ In labelling Ennius *sapiens*, Cicero may also have been building on Ennius' own connection to the term at *Ann.* 211-12 (*nec quisquam sophiam, sapientia quae perhibetur, / in somnis vidit prius quam sam discere coepit*); for discussion of the fragment and the various interpretations, see Skutsch (1985) 375-8 and Habinek (2006) 471-488.

importation of Greek philosophy to Rome. By presenting Ennius, a figure of immense social authority due to the position of the *Annales* in society, as a Roman with an understanding of Greek intellectual pursuits (science and philosophy), Cicero creates a precedent for his own work. His reasoning seems to be that if Ennius has imported Greek ideas for the benefit of Rome, surely Cicero himself is able to do the same.¹²⁹

The appointment of Ennius as an authority on astronomical phenomena is an obvious instance of Cicero creating authority. This construction is particularly noticeable when the context is taken into consideration. In discussing the importance of astronomy, Sulpicius Gallus and Pericles are cited as examples of how a proper understanding of the subject can be useful for those in power, as both men used their knowledge to soothe the minds of their underlings, who were stricken by panic at the sight of an eclipse.¹³⁰ This is followed by a comparison of Thales and Ennius:

Erat enim tum haec nova et ignota ratio, solem lunae oppositu solere deficere, quod Thaletem Milesium primum vidisse dicunt. Id autem postea ne nostrum quidem Ennium fugit...

For back then this was a new and unknown idea that the sun was regularly eclipsed by the interposition of the moon, which they say Thales of Miletus was the first to observe. Moreover, later it did not even escape our Ennius...¹³¹

Thales, a Greek scholar of high repute, is noted as being the first to observe properly, and thus understand, the nature of a solar eclipse while Ennius is cited as one who is also familiar with eclipses, and whose knowledge subsequently allows the Romans to gain a better understanding of their past. The association of Ennius with Thales is evident when observing the ways in which each figure is introduced. The first indication of this association is the use of an adjective, *primum*, to denote Thales'

¹²⁹ The use of Ennius as a legitimizing precedent occurs elsewhere in Cicero. In the *Orator*, Cicero attempts to justify his criticisms of ancient orators by arguing that since Ennius was able to speak of his predecessors with contempt, he too should be able to judge his predecessors, especially because he will do so with more modesty than Ennius; *Orat.* 171.

¹³⁰ *Cic. Rep.* 1.23-5.

¹³¹ *Cic. Rep.* 1.25. There is a degree of overlap with the way in which the authority-building methods are structured here. While the second sentence (*id... fugit*) contains the implication of Ennius' *doctrina*, it also aids in the association of Ennius with Thales.

position as the first to properly understand eclipses, compared with *postea* to show that Ennius cultivated the study later on. The second can be seen in Cicero's description of each man's respective nationality: Thales is introduced as *Thales Milesius*, whereas Ennius is named *noster Ennius*, continuing the contrast of Greek and Roman that was begun with the anecdotes of Gallus and Pericles earlier in the argument. This also brings Ennius into the same league as this renowned Greek scientist, making him into a kind of Roman Thales, as well as connecting Ennius to "superstition-fighting Greek rationalism".¹³² Furthermore, from this association he gains the *gravitas* attached to a man who was first to observe and understand the eclipse, as well as an expanded realm of authority, which in turn grants him the authority derived from being educated (*doctrina*).

The passage is part of a wider discussion, in which Scipio argues the merits of studying astronomy. Interestingly, while astronomy gives Ennius added authority through the extension of his areas of knowledge, Ennius himself also bestows *gravitas* to the science. He is the final of a long list of illustrious men, both generals and scientists, who are cited for their understanding and their application of that knowledge. These include Sulpicius Gallus, a Roman scientist, Aemilius Paullus, a Roman general, Pericles, a Greek statesman, and Anaxagoras, a Greek scientist, as well as the aforementioned Thales.¹³³ This extended association places Ennius among not only intellectuals, but also military and political figures whose knowledge of astronomy proved beneficial for both themselves and their respective states.

The final instance of association in this passage occurs when Ennius – and therefore, the *Annales* – is placed alongside the Pontifical Record (*Annales Maximi*) in terms of historical reliability:

Atque hac in re tanta inest ratio atque sollertia, ut ex hoc die quem
apud Ennium et in maximis annalibus consignatum videmus...¹³⁴

¹³² Cole (2006) 537.

¹³³ Of added interest is the arrangement of this set of authorities: Scientist (Gallus) \Rightarrow General (Aemilius) \Rightarrow Battle (Macedonian War): Battle (Peloponnesian War) \Leftarrow General (Pericles) \Leftarrow Scientist (Anaxagoras). For more notes on the arrangement, see Zetzel (1995) 116.

¹³⁴ I propose that the phrase *apud Ennium et in maximis annalibus* can be interpreted two ways. At face value *maximis annalibus* refers to the Great Annals of the Pontifex Maximus, and I have translated the line accordingly; however, I offer the possibility of Ciceronian word play here, subtly describing

And there is so much knowledge and skill in this matter that, from this date, which we see recorded in the works of Ennius [i.e. the *Annales*] and in the Great Annals...¹³⁵

This shows that it was not only Ennius, the poet, whose authority was enriched by association with prominent intellectuals, but also his work, which is placed alongside one of the most trustworthy historical records in Roman society. The Great Annals were records taken annually by the Pontifex Maximus, and were considered a work with immense historical authority.¹³⁶ In fact, Spencer Cole writes that Scipio, one of the treatise's interlocutors, "gives Ennius credentials that would impress Cicero's late-republican audience" when he "treats Ennius' *Annales* as a source that can stand comparison with the *Annales Maximi*".¹³⁷

With the examination of the *De Re Publica* complete, I shall turn to the *De Senectute* and *De Divinatione*, and look at the way that Cicero uses association to construct the authority of Ennius in each text. Just as the *De Senectute* provided an instance of implication for comparison, so too it provides an example of association:

Est etiam quiete et pure atque eleganter actae aetatis placida ac lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, qui uno et octogesimo anno scribens est mortuus, qualem Isocratis, qui eum librum, qui Panathenaicus inscribitur, quarto nonagesimo anno scripsisse dicit vixitque quinquennium postea; cuius magister Leontinus Gorgias centum et septem complevit annos, neque umquam in suo studio atque

Ennius' *Annales* as the "greatest". I recognize that *et* here is definitive in its separation of *apud Ennium* and *in maximis annalibus*, but I tender the possibility regardless.

¹³⁵ Cic. *Rep.* 1.25.

¹³⁶ For more information on the Pontifical Record, see Crake (1940). Cato the Elder saw little value in the Pontifical Record. He says dismissively that he does not care to write what was recorded by the Pontiffs, giving high grain prices and the frequency of eclipses as examples of recorded content (*Non lubet scribere, quod in tabula apud pontificem maximum est, quotiens annona cara, quotiens lunae aut solis lumine caligo aut quid obstiterit*); Gell. 2.28.5-6, cf. Sciarrino (2004). Diomedes, the fourth-century grammarian who wrote the *Ars Grammatica*, links Ennius' *Annales* with the Annals of the Pontiffs (GLK 1.484) when discussing Latin epic (*epos Latinum primus digne scripsit is |qui res Romanorum decem et octo complexus est libris, qui et annales |<in>scribuntur, quod singulorum fere annorum actus contineant, sicut publici |annales, quos pontifices scribaeque conficiunt, uel Romanis, quod |Romanorum res gestas declarant*). For a discussion on the problems of associating Ennius' *Annales* with the *Annales Maximi* of the Pontiffs, see Elliott (2013) 23-30.

¹³⁷ Cole (2006) 537.

opere cessavit. Qui cum ex eo quaereretur, cur tam diu vellet esse in vita, “nihil habeo” inquit “quod accusem senectutem.” Praeclarum responsum et docto homine dignum! Sua enim vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem conferunt, quod non faciebat is, cuius modo mentionem feci, Ennius.

But there is also the peaceful and calm old age, of a life spent more elegantly, in quietness and cleanliness – such as we have heard of Plato, who on his eighty-first year died writing; such as that of Isocrates, who said that on his ninety-fourth year he wrote his book, the *Panathenaicus*, and lived for a further five years; his teacher, Gorgias of Leontini rounded out one hundred and seven years, and never in his study or his work did he ever rest. When it was asked of him, why he would want to live for so long, he said “I have nothing, for which I would blame old age”. A splendid response, and worthy of a learned man! For fools link their vices to their old age, as for Ennius, of whom I recently made mention, he did not do this.¹³⁸

While the theory is the same, it is the execution that differs slightly. Much as in the *De Re Publica*, Ennius is associated with Greek intellectuals, although in this instance we are dealing with philosophers, not scientists or statesmen. Through this association, Ennius becomes a Roman foil for the Greek *exempla* used in the argument. Just as he had fashioned Ennius as a Roman scientist earlier, Cicero now fashions him as a Roman philosopher, replete with the *gravitas* afforded to illustrious philosophers such as Plato. In the *De Re Publica*, the formation of Ennius as a Roman scientist is evident through the contrast of *Thales Milesius* with *noster Ennius*, with *noster* aiding in the contrast of the Greek Thales and Roman Ennius. As such, we would expect to see *noster* employed again in the *De Senectute*, both to differentiate Ennius from his Greek predecessors and establish him as a Roman equivalent. By using the *De Re Publica* as a template for this type of authority-building, it is possible to work out how Cicero presents Ennius as a Roman equal to these Greek intellectuals. Thales is referred to as *Thales Milesius*, highlighting his Greek heritage, just as Gorgias, the final Greek *exemplum* cited – and the figure immediately

¹³⁸ Cic. *Sen.* 13-14.

preceding Ennius – is referred to as *Leontinus Gorgias*, indicating his birthplace in the Greek colony of Leontini.¹³⁹ Cicero does not introduce the *Annales* quotation with the title of *noster Ennius*, but instead the phrase *cuius modo mentionem feci* recalls the *noster* from the citation-introduction at *De Senectute* 10:

De quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius:

[Fabius] about whom my friend Ennius speaks splendidly:

By referring back to the initial encounter with Ennius, when Cato introduced him as one of his intimates, the reader can recall *noster* and apply it to the citation-introduction of *De Senectute* 14. From this, we can tell that Cicero intended for Ennius to be seen as *noster Ennius*, in contrast with *Leontinus Gorgias*. The introduction of Ennius with the inferred *noster* connects him with *Leontinus Gorgias* in much the same way that he was linked to *Thales Milesius* in the *De Re Publica*. While this similar method of naming figures indicates that Cicero intended his readers to perceive an association between the Greek philosopher and the Roman poet, it is their common attitude toward old age that is the most striking evidence of a connection between the two. Cicero recalls that Gorgias, when asked why he wanted to live so long, responded that he had no reason to reproach old age. Immediately after this, Cicero – through Cato – makes the declaration that Gorgias’ response was both splendid (*praeclarum*) and worthy of a learned individual (*docto homine dignus*). He follows this statement with the description of Ennius’ attitude to old age, which, mirroring that of Gorgias, does not consider old age to be the source of one’s faults. Furthermore, Cato goes on to explain that Ennius lived to be seventy, considerably younger than his Greek counterparts, though similarly tolerant of old age:

Sed annos septuaginta natus, tot enim vixit Ennius, ita ferebat duo quae maxima putantur onera, paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videtur.

¹³⁹ It is interesting to note that in each case Ennius is associated with the earliest of the intellectuals listed by Cicero. In the *De Re Publica*, it is Thales, the first to properly understand eclipses, whereas in the *De Senectute* it is Gorgias, the philosopher who taught Isocrates and who was the subject of Plato’s *Gorgias*. It is possible, then, that Cicero associated Ennius with the earliest scholars as a means of affording him additional *gravitas* as the earliest Roman scientist or the earliest Roman philosopher.

But at seventy years of age, for Ennius lived for so many, he thus endured the two burdens, which are considered to be the greatest – frugality and old age – so that he almost seems to have delighted in them.¹⁴⁰

Not only did Ennius supposedly share Gorgias' judgement of old age, but he actually delighted his own old age, despite the added burden of poverty. In this way, Ennius both reflects and transcends the attitude of Gorgias, providing clear evidence of Cicero's intention to link the two figures in the same way he linked Ennius and Thales.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, it is possible that Cicero meant for the praise given to Gorgias (*praeclarum responsum et docto homine dignus*) to be shared by both himself and Ennius. If so, the end result is that at *De Senectute* 14 Ennius is presented as both *doctus* and *sapiens*. The ability of *sapiens* to take on the meaning of "philosopher" serves to further enhance the presentation of Ennius as a Roman philosopher. The two authority-building techniques of implication and association work harmoniously to produce an image of Ennius as learned, wise, and philosophical.

It is also important to note how the function of *noster* changes in this passage. It shifts from its original use in *De Senectute* 10 for constructing a personal link between Cato and Ennius to making a larger link between Ennius and Romans in general. The result is the presentation of Ennius as a Roman foil for the Greek philosophers. Furthermore, by having the reader recall *noster*, Cicero shrewdly avoids the repetition of writing *noster Ennius* at the two different citations.

Context dictates the use of Ennius in the respective arguments of each work, and so, whereas the role of Ennius in the *De Re Publica* was to both glorify astronomy and provide reliable historical evidence, his role in the *De Senectute* is that of an *exemplum* for how to approach old age. By equating Ennius with the Greek philosophers, Cicero gives him *gravitas*, and by extension raises his perceived *auctoritas*. When his attitude toward old age is finally cited, it is ultimately endowed

¹⁴⁰ Cic. *Sen.* 14.

¹⁴¹ The idea that Ennius' attitude toward old age is meant to exceed that of Gorgias finds support in an observation on the *De Senectute* made by Elaine Fantham: "Thus Cicero's impersonation of Cato the Elder in *De Senectute* follows each instance of exemplary behavior by a Greek with a corresponding and, if possible, more impressive deed or saying by a Roman worthy"; Fantham (1996) 133.

with the *auctoritas* and *sapientia* of both a poet philosopher comparable in stature to the most renowned Greek philosophers.

The final instance where Cicero constructs Ennius' authority by associating him with another prominent figure occurs in Book 2 of the *De Divinatione*, and perhaps plays upon Ennius' own self-fashioning as a second Homer. In Book 2 Cicero makes a series of counter-arguments, dismantling those put forth in Book 1 by Quintus, who is arguing for the legitimacy of traditional Roman religious practices.¹⁴² At this juncture, Cicero uses Ennius' *Annales* to argue that the practice of augury lacks credibility because of a lack of uniformity amongst augurs of different cultures. He first quotes Ennius' *Annales* for evidence that the Roman system of augury favoured the left side (*Ann.* 541), and, as a counter-example, quotes his own translation from Homer's *Iliad* to show that the Greek system favoured the right:

Quae autem est inter augures conveniens et coniuncta constantia? Ad nostri augurii consuetudinem dixit Ennius: "tum tonuit laevum bene tempestate serena". At Homericus Ajax apud Achillem querens de ferocitate Troianorum nescio quid hoc modo nuntiat: "prospera Iuppiter his dextris fulguribus edit".

Moreover, what kind of consistent, unified agreement is there between augurs? In regard to our system of augury, Ennius said: "Then, in the clear sky, [Jove] thundered favourably on the left". But Homer's Ajax, complaining to Achilles about some unknown ferocious act of the Trojans, relates in this manner that "Jupiter gives out favour by thundering on the right".¹⁴³

Through his use of the *Annales* to provide evidence for the Roman augural practices Cicero expands Ennius' authority into the realms of religion, fashioning him as an authority for Roman religious beliefs. Of importance for this section is the association of Ennius with Homer. Unlike in the *De Re Publica* and *De Senectute*, the association

¹⁴² Cicero himself plays the role of the lead interlocutor in Book 2, employing Academic Skepticism, with his brother, Quintus, expounding Stoic views in Book 1, despite being a Peripatetic; see Wardle (2006) 12.

¹⁴³ Cic. *Div.* 2.82. Falconer, in his Loeb translation, points out that Cicero is mistaken here, as it is Odysseus, not Ajax, who makes this complaint to Achilles; see *Iliad* 9. 236 and Falconer (1938) *ad loc.*

in the *De Divinatione* does not seek to align Ennius with a particular group or intellectual pursuit, but with a specific figure: Homer. However, this is not to say that Cicero is not presenting Ennius as a Roman foil, as he had in the two other works; indeed, it appears that Cicero's aim was to do exactly that. Homer was a poet with immense cultural significance, and thus immense authoritative capital.¹⁴⁴ Using him as an authoritative source for Greek augury meant that an equally authoritative source was required for Roman augury. Moreover, keeping in mind Homer's significance to Greek culture, the citation of Ennius serves to present him as having a similar significance in Roman culture. Homer's *Iliad* presented a kind of "history" of the Greeks, while Ennius' *Annales* contained centuries of actual Roman history. In essence, the juxtaposition of Ennius and Homer presents each as a mouthpiece for their respective culture, with this association also highlighting the fact that Ennius was just as important to the Romans as Homer was to the Greeks. The reminder of Ennius' position as the Roman Homer is a means of endowing the poet with even more *auctoritas*, especially when one considers the cultural impact of the Homeric works, and the cultural transfer of Homer performed by Ennius and the *Annales*.

Writing versus Speaking: Explaining Cicero's use of *scribo*

De Re Publica 1.25 is not only important for the authority-building techniques it exhibits, but for the unique verb-choice in the introduction of the citation. The quotation-method used in this passage differs from all other *Annales* citations in Cicero's philosophical corpus because of its use of *scribo*, a verb of writing. While it is true that Cicero employed a range of verbs throughout his various quotations, he generally uses verbs of speaking, which account for ten¹⁴⁵ of the fifteen¹⁴⁶ verbal introductions. The remaining five verbs are context-specific, and seem to have been chosen according to the requirement of the argument. *Audio*, for example, appears at *Academica* 2.88 in an argument regarding the perception of events within dreams, and is used to introduce part of a speech from Homer *heard* – not spoken or recounted –

¹⁴⁴ Cicero, as well as his Greek predecessors, makes extensive use of Homer as an authority in his philosophical works; Daniela Dueck puts the number of Homeric citations in Cicero at twenty-three; see Dueck (2009b) 315.

¹⁴⁵ This figure includes: *dico* (5), *narro* (2), *appello* (2) and *aio* (1). A full table of verb use can be found in the appendix (p. 102).

¹⁴⁶ This figure does not take into account the intransitive verb, *est*, which only occurs in conjunction with the phrase *apud Ennium*.

by Ennius within a dream. In the case of the *Academica*, the reason for using *audio* is obvious: the argument concerns the idea that when people are awake they understand that they have experienced a dream, but within the dream, they experience things as though awake; thus, while dreaming, Ennius would have believed that he had heard Homer. In the *De Re Publica*, however, the motives behind Cicero's decision to use *scribo* are less clear. In this section I intend to answer the question of why Cicero chose to use a verb of writing over his favoured verbs of speaking. In the process I shall consider his portrayal of Ennius as a scientific authority, and how the context of the argument shaped his decision to use a verb of writing. Furthermore, a comparison with the citation-tendencies of his Republican contemporary, Varro, will also be undertaken.

Id autem postea ne nostrum quidem Ennium fugit; qui ut¹⁴⁷ scribit, anno quinquagesimo <et> CCC fere post Romam conditam “Nonis Iunis soli luna obstitit et nox”.

Moreover, later it did not even escape our Ennius; as he wrote, on approximately the three hundred and fiftieth year after Rome's foundation: “On the fifth of June, the moon and night obscured the sun”.¹⁴⁸

The importance of *scribo* in this instance cannot be understated given its position as the only verb of writing used when introducing a citation from the *Annales*. This significance is further highlighted by the number of verbs of speaking, which totals ten. At its most basic level *scribo* means “to write” or “to inscribe”, although it can also take on more specific meanings. According to the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, *scribo* can be defined as “to state (a fact or opinion) in writing (as in a book)”, “to write as an author”, [or] compose literary works”.¹⁴⁹ These readings of the verb allow us to interpret the passage in a way that is more in line with what Cicero would have intended. Ennius is doing more than simply “writing” something down. He is “stating” a fact in a work that he is writing; the tone is more assertive, and the

¹⁴⁷ As the statement on Ennius' lack of ignorance is followed by *ut scribit*, the presence of *ut* would suggest that the verse introduced by *scribit* is acting as evidence of Scipio's assertion.

¹⁴⁸ Cic. *Rep.* 1.25. See p. 46 n. 125 for the explanation regarding my correction of Ennius' dating.

¹⁴⁹ OLD (1968) s.v. *scribo*.

physical act of composing a written work will become more important in light of the arguments unfolded as this analysis progresses. Certainly, Cicero touches upon the idea that Ennius composed a work of celebrated historical authenticity when he equates the *Annales* with the Pontifical Record in terms of historical worth.

Thus far I have presented a more assertive rendering of *scribo*, one that carries an air of authority; however, it still needs to be determined why Cicero chose to use a verb of writing over a verb of speaking. In order to do this, we need to turn away from Cicero for a moment and look at Varro, his contemporary. In his commentary on the *Annales*, Otto Skutsch, reasoning whether a fragment recorded in Varro's *Re Rustica* should be attributed to the *Annales* or the *Epicharmus*, makes an observation that may throw some light on Cicero's decision to use *scribo*. Skutsch notes that when citing either Ennius' *Annales* or his tragedies, Varro uses *aio*, *dico*, *appello*, and *utor* as introductory verbs, with *aio* occurring most frequently. If we look only at the verbs of speaking, of which *aio* occurs nine times, with *dico* and *appello* each occurring four times, we can see that the total number of verbs of speaking is seventeen.¹⁵⁰

This is particularly interesting when we consider the number of times Varro uses *scribo* with quotations from the *Annales* or tragedies: two.¹⁵¹ A stark contrast is thus evident; the ratio of verbs of speaking to verbs of writing is 17:2, and points to a conscious trend that favours verbs of speaking over those of writing when citing Ennius' poetry. Skutsch builds on his observation by adding that with fragments "which possibly, probably, or certainly belong to other works (twelve altogether)" Varro employs *aio* twice and *scribo* four times,¹⁵² essentially making the ratio of speaking to writing verbs 1:2. From this we can see that when citing poetic works Varro uses a basic verb of speaking (*aio*) over twice as often as any other action verb, while for the other works he uses *scribo* most frequently. Skutsch qualifies this observation with a plausible explanation that Varro, when quoting poetry, considered the poet to be "speaking to us", whereas with quotations from either prose or

¹⁵⁰ Skutsch (1985) 755. The total number of quotations in Varro's corpus that come from the *Annales* and tragedies is sixty-six.

¹⁵¹ Varr. *LL* 5.182, 7.32.

¹⁵² For *aio*: Varr. *LL* 5.65, 65. For *scribo*: *LL* 5.86, 9.107; *RR* 1.4.1, 1.48.2.

philosophy – even if written in verse form – he imagined the author putting his words down in writing.¹⁵³

Skutsch's logical conclusion provides the basis of my argument for why Cicero chose to use *scribo* with this particular quotation. However, before continuing, it is necessary to create a link between the respective citation-styles of these two Republican authors. Such a link can be found in H. D. Jocelyn's commentary on Ennius' tragedies, during an examination of a particular method for citing tragedy found in Varro.¹⁵⁴ The method involves the attribution of a verse to the speaker, with the name of the author appended to distinguish it from other versions of the same tragedy. Examples in Varro include *Pacuvianus dicit pastor*,¹⁵⁵ and *Ennius Ajax*, a mode of citation found in the Laurentian codex of Varro's *De Lingua Latina*.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, Jocelyn follows this with the comment that Cicero, too, frequently employed this manner of citation when quoting tragedies; in the footnote to this matter, he gives a large list of examples of this citation-method as evidence.¹⁵⁷ Thus Jocelyn recognized, rightly, that the two Republican authors share some common techniques in their citation of poetry, and, while his focus is on the dramatic works, it is evident that Cicero extended the use of this particular method to his citations from epic. This can be seen in the *De Divinatione*, where he introduces a citation from Homer's *Iliad* with an attribution to *Homerius Ajax*,¹⁵⁸ and a passage from the *Annales* with *narrat... apud Ennium Vestalis illa*.¹⁵⁹ If Cicero and Varro adopted similar practices for the citation of poetic works, it is not a stretch to suppose that they shared a common attitude toward the use of *scribo* in citation-introductions, especially since it is clear that each displayed a predilection for the use of verbs of speaking when quoting poetic works.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵³ Skutsch (1985) 756. Admittedly, the sample size for this argument is small, and even Skutsch himself concedes that it is weak; however, it does appear that a trend exists, and the basic principle behind his argument is sound.

¹⁵⁴ Jocelyn (1967) 178.

¹⁵⁵ Varr. *LL* 6.6.

¹⁵⁶ The possible emendations *Enni(i) Ajax* and *Ennianus Ajax* have been proposed by Vahlen; see Jocelyn (1967) 179.

¹⁵⁷ Jocelyn (1967) 179 n. 1.

¹⁵⁸ Cic. *Div.* 2.82; see p. 55 n. 143 for Cicero's erroneous attribution of the line to Ajax.

¹⁵⁹ Cic. *Div.* 1.40.

¹⁶⁰ It must be acknowledged that while Cicero and Varro favour verbs of speaking, their verbs of choice differ, with Cicero preferring *dico* over Varro's *aio*. The reasons for Cicero's repeated use of *dico* (and a consideration of its authority as a verb) will be discussed in the following chapter; see p.81ff.

Skutsch's reasoning behind the difference in frequency of speaking and writing verbs in Varro's citation of poetic and non-poetic works is plausible. Though poets composed their poetry in writing, the art of poetry itself was, like rhetoric, very much an oral medium. This is reflected in a citation-introduction found in Book 2 of the *De Natura Deorum*, where Cicero cites a Latinized version of a Homeric epithet when giving the various titles attributed to Jupiter. When citing the phrase he introduces it as being part of poetic tradition:

... a poetis "pater divomque hominumque" dicitur...

... by poets he is called "the father of gods and men"...¹⁶¹

Cicero uses a verb of speaking for poetic tradition, not a writing verb, reflecting the fact that poets communicate orally.¹⁶² Another illustration of this is found in Suetonius' *De Grammaticis*, when he records how Quintus Vargunteius recited selections from the *Annales* to great throngs of people.¹⁶³ Whether he read from a written copy or had memorized verses is not as relevant as the fact that he communicated to the masses orally, much as an orator would. Both arts are based within the realm of orality, and therefore, we should expect to see quotations from each introduced with the appropriate verbs. In contrast, other prose genres such as philosophy and history communicate by the written word, and therefore the audience absorbs the information primarily through reading, not listening. With this in mind Skutsch's argument that Varro saw the poet as "speaking to us" and the writer of a prose or philosophical work "setting his words down in writing" does appear to be a logical conclusion.

Having created a link between Cicero and Varro, I return now to the *De Re Publica* and the question of Cicero's use of *scribo*. As we noted earlier in this chapter, Cicero is portraying Ennius as a scientific authority – a Roman equivalent of the renowned Thales of Miletus. This is our first clue as to why Cicero decided to present Ennius' verse as written rather than spoken. By constructing an image of Ennius as a

¹⁶¹ Cic. *N.D.* 2.64.

¹⁶² This is not to say that *dico* is never used with the meaning of "to call" when used in the context of writing (I shall discuss this from p. 86ff) but rather, I mean to draw attention to the fact that a verb of speaking has been used in relation to poetic expression.

¹⁶³ Suet. *De Gramm.* 2.2; for commentary on this anecdote, see Kaster (1995) 66.

figure with an understanding of astronomy, Cicero extends Ennius' authority beyond the poetic world and into the world of science, essentially adding another dimension to Ennius' persona. *Scribo* builds on this presentation, ultimately working to affect the way that both the fragment and the argument are received. Through the use of *scribo* in place of a verb of speaking, which we would normally expect to see introducing a poetic quotation, the *Annales* is, in effect, transformed from poetry into something resembling a scientific work. This transformation is brought about by the introduction of the verse as written, not spoken, effectively stripping away the oral aspect that would have associated it with poetry. Within the confines of the argument, the quotation is reduced to evidence of Ennius' understanding of astronomical phenomena, namely eclipses.¹⁶⁴ The association of the *Annales* with the Great Annals shortly after the quotation adds to the portrayal of the *Annales* as a text with a more concrete historical basis than poetry. While Ennius' *Annales* was an historical epic, and the historical reliability of both poet and work are indeed stressed throughout Cicero's philosophical works, it seems that in this particular argument, which highlights the benefits of a knowledge of astronomy, it was necessary for Cicero to focus on the "scientific Ennius", as references to poetry would perhaps diminish the associative comparison to renowned intellectuals such as Thales.

While the *De Re Publica* features the only instance of *scribo* used to introduce a quotation within the philosophical works, a parallel for this citation does exist in the *Brutus*. Much as we find in the *De Re Publica*, we see the *Annales* being presented more as a written text than a poem, and we see *scribo* employed in a similar way:

Quem vero exstet et de quo sit memoriae proditum eloquentem fuisse et ita esse habitum, primus est M. Cornelius Cethegus, cuius eloquentiae est auctor et idoneus quidem mea sententia Q. Ennius, praesertim cum et ipse eum audiverit et scribat de mortuo, ex quo nulla suspicio est amicitiae causa esse mentitum. Est igitur sic apud illum in nono ut opinor annali...

¹⁶⁴ This is evidenced by the placement of *ut* before *scribit*, as I noted earlier in this chapter, see p. 57 n. 147.

But the first man for whom recorded evidence survives that he was truly eloquent and regarded as such is M. Cornelius Cethegus, of whose eloquence Quintus Ennius is an authority, and indeed, a ideal one in my opinion, especially since he had heard him speak and wrote after his death, from which there can be no suspicion that he lied out of friendship. Accordingly, the description is thus in [the work of] Ennius, in, I think, Book 9 of the *Annales*...¹⁶⁵

At this point in the *Brutus*, Cicero has just finished listing the Roman orators, for whom there is no written testimony of their rhetorical prowess, and is commencing a discussion of orators for whom there is written evidence of both their ability and their reception. The *Annales* is the first written text consulted by Cicero, and, as such, it serves to “inaugurate the era of historically documented times”.¹⁶⁶ The first orator is Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, a record of whose eloquence is preserved by Ennius in his *Annales*. It is not uncommon to find Cicero asserting the historicity of the *Annales*, but in the cases of the *De Re Publica* and the *Brutus*, the poem is presented as a pure historical record, and the poet himself as a historian. This portrayal is particularly evident when the section on Cethegus comes to the end, since Cicero takes stock of the importance of Ennius’ description of the renowned orator by telling the reader that if it were not for the “sole testimony” (*unum testimonium*) of Ennius, Cethegus would have been forgotten.¹⁶⁷ This statement completes the transition of the *Annales* from poem to historical record that begins with the initial occurrence of *scribo*.

Context necessitated the use of *scribo* in the *De Re Publica*, just as it does in the argument of the *Brutus*. When introducing this new part of the discussion, Cicero writes that he is turning his focus to orators for whose eloquence there is written record (*de quo sit memoriae proditum eloquentem fuisse*). Thus, given that these

¹⁶⁵ Cic. *Brut.* 57-8.

¹⁶⁶ Elliott (2013) 156.

¹⁶⁷ Cic. *Brut.* 60. Ennius is depicted not simply as preserving valuable aspects of Roman history, but as “rescuing history’s precious details”; Elliott (2013) 158-9. In her treatment of *Brut.* 57-60, Jackie Elliott observes that due to the absence of information on Cethegus in prose historiography, Cicero “turns to the work [the *Annales*] that suggests the information he would like and treats it as if it were the type he requires”. In this way, Cicero extracts a poetic description of a Roman orator and treats it as if it were historical information, transforming both the poem and the verse itself into a veritable factual record.

orators have been written about in a historical manner (as is suggested by the verb *prodo*) it would have contradicted and weakened Cicero's argument if he had introduced the citation with a verb of speaking, even if it had been an authoritative verb such as *dico*.

Cicero writes that he will be quoting from written sources, and he uses *scribo* accordingly. This shows that Cicero could – and did – use different verbs to change his audience's perception of the nature of the *Annales* depending on the needs of his argument. In altering his audience's perception of the poem, he presented it as the appropriate text for the discussion, just as he would, in other instances, portray Ennius as the appropriate authority for an argument.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, from a practical point of view, a verb of speaking would simply not work, considering that Cicero, in the *Brutus*, has just finished talking about orators for whom there is record of their existence but no concrete evidence of their reputation. This being the case, it would hardly make sense to introduce a quotation from a written record with a verb like *aio*.

Conclusion

The two methods employed for the assertion of Ennius' authority in the *De Re Publica* are "implication" and "association", with further examples of each gleaned from the *De Senectute* and *De Divinatione*. The two methods operate on a more subtle level than the techniques that are examined in the other chapters. Ennius' knowledge is asserted through the addition of astronomy to his repertoire of authority, which, as we will see in the next chapter, included various aspects of Roman tradition. The *De Divinatione* produces an example of Ennius' position as a mouthpiece for Roman tradition and cultural authority, while also providing us with an example of the technique of association. Unlike implication, which focuses on Ennius' *doctrina* or *sapientia*, association focuses on the endowment of authority through the transfer of *gravitas*, which occurs when Ennius is placed in the company of a number of different

¹⁶⁸ This is, in fact, what occurs at *Brut.* 57. Cicero claims that Ennius is an ideal (*idoneus*) authority for Cethegus' rhetorical skill, because he wrote his work after Cethegus' death, thus removing the possibility that their friendship influenced Ennius' account. Of course, this assumes that the two were even acquainted, and, more importantly, ignores that probability that, if the two *were* friends, Ennius would have been more likely to give a favourable account as a sort of posthumous tribute. Douglas proposes that *amicitia* in this case refers to "political partisanship" not "friendship", as the latter would almost definitely lead to flattery after death; see Douglas (1966) 47-8.

Graeco-Roman intellectuals. This results in Ennius becoming a Roman Thales, a Roman Gorgias, or, more in line with his own self-fashioning, a Roman Homer. When this equation occurs, perception transforms the image of Ennius as he ceases to be simply a poet, instead being subsumed within the discipline of those with whom he is associated. By presenting Ennius as both a Roman equivalent to these learned Greeks, and one who used their pursuits for the betterment of Rome,¹⁶⁹ Cicero also creates a justifying precedent for his own eventual transfer of Greek philosophy to Rome with the philosophical works published in the ensuing decade. The next chapter, which will examine the authority-building methods in a passage from the *Tusculanae*, will have a more specific focus on Roman tradition, and the authority of *antiquitas*.

We have also discussed Cicero's unique use of *scribo* to introduce Ennius' description of an eclipse, and considered the possible motives that led him to do so. The other verbs that only appear once with *Annales* citations, of which *audio* and *persequor* are two, have functions that are more context-specific.¹⁷⁰ *Scribo*, on the other hand, is a standard verb that authors employ when introducing citations, and so its lone appearance in the *De Re Publica* is made all the more intriguing. Using Skutsch's observation on Varro's use of *scribo* as the basis for my argument, I have argued that Cicero used the verb as a way of influencing his audience's reception of the quotation. Skutsch posits that Varro appears to use *scribo* more often for non-poetic works because he imagined the prose author writing his ideas down, whereas he imagined the poet speaking his words. Cicero tended to portray the *Annales* as a poem, as is evidenced by the higher ratio of speaking verbs to writing verbs in his citation introductions. However, in the two instances where Cicero treats the *Annales* as a non-poetic work (the *De Re Publica* and the *Brutus*), we see him introduce citations with *scribo* instead of *dico*, *aio*, or any other verb of speaking. In one case Cicero is highlighting Ennius' scientific knowledge, and therefore, he quotes the *Annales* as though quoting from a piece of scientific work, whereas in the case of the *Brutus*, Cicero depicts the *Annales* as a historical record from which he is able to

¹⁶⁹ In the case of the *De Re Publica*, Ennius' knowledge of astronomy aids the Romans in determining the date of Romulus' apotheosis, and in the *De Senectute* Ennius' philosophical attitude is held up as an *exemplum* for enduring both old age and poverty.

¹⁷⁰ *Audio* appears at *Ac.* 2.88 and is used to introduce a line spoken by Homer and *heard* by Ennius, while *persequor* is used at *Sen.* 16 for citing Ennius' versification of Appius Claudius' speech to the Senate.

draw a description of a distinguished orator. The scientific work and the historical testimony are naturally associated with prose genres, far from the realm of poetry, and as a result, we can clearly see that Cicero deliberately opted to use *scribo* as his introductory verb.

Chapter 4

The Authority of Tradition: Ennius in *Tusculanae* 1.26-8

The *Tusculanae Disputationes* is one of the more intriguing works in Cicero's philosophical corpus. Unlike the *De Re Publica*, which was composed in the 50s, the *Tusculanae* was written in the mid 40s, when Cicero produced the bulk of his philosophical works. A further contrast with the *De Re Publica* is the way that Ennius' authority is built upon. *Tusculanae* 1.26.8 could be described as "elaborately wrought" because of the presence of multiple authority-building techniques, which all operate harmoniously. Moreover, the simplest phrases can be indicative of the weightiest ideas. The passage has the lead interlocutor, M, attempting to convince the other speaker, A, that death is not to be feared, and that the soul is, in fact, immortal. He does this primarily by appealing to the authority of the customs of the ancestors (*mos maiorum*), for which Ennius comes to be presented as the mouthpiece. Whereas *De Re Publica* 1.25 relies on the rhetorical techniques of implication and association to construct Ennius' authority, *Tusculanae* 1.26-8 consists of a blend of both rhetorical devices and straightforward assertions. These "straightforward assertions" concern Ennius' place in the wider scheme of Roman tradition, and cover areas such as his role as a transmitter of Roman customs, and his reliability as a source for Roman beliefs; moreover, this is the only occasion in the entirety of Cicero's philosophical corpus on which Ennius comes to be included under the rubric of the *auctores*.

Antiquitas

At the outset of this section of the *Tusculanae*, M commences his argument by reassuring A that they are able to draw upon the best authorities (*optimi auctores*) in order to quell A's own fears about death, and ultimately prove that the soul lives on after the physical body has died.¹⁷¹ The first of these *auctores* is "all antiquity" (*omnis antiquitas*), which he claims is most authoritative on the subject, since Roman ancestors had a better understanding of the nature of death because of their proximity

¹⁷¹ On the conflict of *ratio* and *auctoritas* present in this passage, see Gildenhard (2007) 242.

to the birth of mankind.¹⁷² Immediately after this statement, Cicero begins his list of aspects of Roman tradition that point to the soul's immortality by quoting from an Ennian line, in which the early inhabitants of Italy are referred to as the *Casci*.¹⁷³ It would appear that the insertion of Ennius' name served a higher purpose than simply to introduce the term *Casci* to the discussion, and I would suggest that by citing his description of the ancient Romans Cicero is premeditatedly setting the foundations of his presentation of Ennius as a figure with intimate knowledge of Roman culture. Thus the representation of Ennius as a cultural authority and a figure associated with *antiquitas* begins.

Authority via word-order

After making his statement about the strength of antiquity as evidence, Cicero proceeds to list the remaining sources that support his argument for the immortality of the soul:

Idque cum multis aliis rebus tum e pontificio iure et e caerimoniis sepulcrorum intellegi licet, quas maximis ingeniis praediti nec tanta cura coluissent nec violatas tam inexpiabili religione sanxissent, nisi haereret in eorum mentibus mortem non interitum esse omnia tollentem atque delentem, sed quandam quasi migrationem commutationemque vitae...

This can be perceived from among many other things pontifical law and burial rites, which men endowed with the greatest talent would not have cultivated with such care, nor forbade their violation with such implacable scrupulousness, unless it was fixed in their minds that death was not an annihilation, ruining and destroying all things, but something like a shifting or changing of life...¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Cic. *Tusc.* 1.26.

¹⁷³ The term *Casci* comes from *Ann.* 22 (*Quam prisci, casci populi, tenuere Latini*). According to Varro (*LL* 7.28), the word is of Sabine origin. If this is true, Cicero has possibly also cited the word to show that the Romans whom he is using as evidence are the early Romano-Sabines who lived under Romulus.

¹⁷⁴ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.27.

Before citing the *Annales* at *Tusculanae* 1.28, Cicero, at *Tusculanae* 1.27 calls upon pontifical law and Roman burial rites as his primary pieces of evidence; furthermore, he strengthens the weight of funeral rites as evidence with the added comment that they were followed meticulously by men of great *ingenium*. From here he gives details of what the ancients believed, namely that death was not the end, but a changing of life, with the illustrious going to live in heaven, and everyone else to the underworld. Ennius is the final Roman source adduced for this argument. Important in the scheme of authority-building, he acts as a culmination of the preceding sources:

Ex hoc et nostrorum opinione “Romulus in caelo cum dis agit aevom,”
ut famae adsentiens dixit¹⁷⁵ Ennius.

From this, and in our opinion, “Romulus ascended, for eternity, into heaven with the gods”, as Ennius said, in agreement with tradition.¹⁷⁶

This argument is arranged in the manner of a Latin sentence, in which the two most emphatic parts are the beginning and end.¹⁷⁷ A typical sentence will contain the subject as the first word, and the verb as the last word; in this way the subject sets the theme, while the verb, placed at the end, completes the sentence and puts into proper context everything that has come before it. The use of *omnis antiquitas* (discussed above) as the first source sets the theme for the remaining sources, each of which is drawn from antiquity. Ennius concludes the section, with his quotation presented as a culmination of centuries of Roman beliefs reflected in the earlier sources that Cicero refers to. This rhetorical technique, whereby the evidence or example with the most weight is placed at the end, also works on a subliminal level: Cicero does not say outright that Ennius is a more reliable source than those mentioned before him, but his position at the end of the list makes it clear that his citation is to be considered more weighty. In this instance, we could say that Cicero is asserting authority by means of rhetorical placement. Through his positioning of Ennius as the final, ultimate source

¹⁷⁵ *Dico*, as an authoritative verb, also plays an important part in Cicero’s authority-building. Rather than discuss it here, however, I will examine its use for constructing authority later in this chapter; see p. 81ff.

¹⁷⁶ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.28.

¹⁷⁷ Arnold et al. (2006) 16.

for the Roman belief in life after death, Cicero endows both the poet and his poem with *gravitas* befitting their respective position in the argument.¹⁷⁸

Cultural Authority I: Representing Roman tradition

Now that we have considered the authority-building aspects of Cicero's arrangement of the argument, we can turn to the comments he makes when introducing the quotation (*Ann.* 110),¹⁷⁹ and his subsequent presentation of Ennius as a Roman cultural authority:

Ex hoc et nostrorum opinione "Romulus in caelo cum dis agit aevom,"
ut famae adsentiens dixit Ennius.

From this, and in our opinion, "Romulus ascended, for eternity, into heaven with the gods", as Ennius said, in agreement with tradition.¹⁸⁰

The statements flanking the quotation do two things: first, *ex hoc et in nostrorum opinione*, adds to the portrayal of the *Annales* as containing centuries of Roman tradition, while, secondly, *famae adsentiens* stresses Ennius agreement with received tradition in his story of Romulus. Each of these comments ultimately serves to present Ennius as an authority on Roman culture, and the *Annales* as an authoritative source from which such information can be collected. For now, however, I will concentrate on the first part of the quotation's introduction, with its depiction of the *Annales* as a "repository of cultural tradition".¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Other occurrences of the method of argumentation wherein a list is concluded with the most authoritative figure or example (quoted from the *Annales*) can be found at *Sen.* 14, *Sen.* 16, *Sen.* 50, *Div.* 1.88-108, *Rep.* 1.25, *Off.* 1.38, *Off.* 1.84. For lists that are not necessary argumentative but still conclude with a citation from the *Annales*, see *N.D.* 3.24, *Tusc.* 1.18, *De Orat.* 3.168, and *Orat.* 157. In her assessment of *Off.* 1.84, Jackie Elliott describes the list technique thus, "after citing various instances of behaviour he regards as heroic, Cicero, as he does elsewhere too, ends with an *exemplum* from the *Annales* that trumps the rest of the list"; Elliott (2013) 164. The citation of Fabius Maximus at *Off.* 1.84 acts similarly to that of Ennius at *Tusc.* 1.28, exemplifying the argument being made and surpassing the preceding examples.

¹⁷⁹ The version of the fragment that appears in the *Tusculanae* differs from that which Cicero quotes at *De Orat.* 3.154 and Servius quotes at *Aen.* 6.763, in that the word *genitalibus* is omitted and the verb has been changed from *degīt* to *agit*. The verse should read *Romulus in caelo cum dis genitalibus aevom / degīt*, but in the *Tusculanae* it appears as *Romulus in caelo cum dis agit aevom*; see Skutsch (1985) 260-3.

¹⁸⁰ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.28.

¹⁸¹ Cole (2006) 533.

As I have already argued, by using the quotation from Ennius as his final Roman source, having earlier referred to both pontifical law and funeral rites, Cicero creates the impression that the quotation is a more emphatic piece of evidence. After explaining that those pieces of ancestral evidence point to a belief in the afterlife, Cicero introduces the citation with the phrase “from this, and in our opinion”. With the phrase *nostrorum opinione*, M tells A that the forthcoming citation represents the commonly held belief on the subject, while the phrase *ex hoc* makes it clear that the belief, and perhaps even the story itself, has been derived from the sources adduced previously. Here, as in the *De Re Publica*, which associated the *Annales* of Ennius with the *Maximi Annales* of the Pontiffs, there is an association of the *Annales* with pontifical law. It seems likely that Cicero’s use of *ex hoc* is not only meant to explain that the belief in Romulus’ apotheosis is based on ancient beliefs regarding death, but also to connect the *Annales* to these sources, thereby creating a link between the beliefs of the past and the poem that has preserved them for posterity. Spencer Cole also notes the influence of this passage on the perception of Ennius’ authority in the realm of religious affairs. He writes that Cicero does not “narrowly construe the *Annales* as representing a peripheral ‘religion of the poets,’ as would be typical in theological debates”, instead, “he cites the work as reflecting Roman religious attitudes just as accurately as familial ritual practice and state protocols”.¹⁸² Through this, Ennius is transformed from a poet cited for this description of Romulus’ divine status to a bona fide religious authority.

This expansion of Ennius’ authority into the realm of ancestral customs (*mos maiorum*) also imbues the *Annales* with the authority of the *maiores*. If the poem reflects the customs and beliefs of Roman ancestors, then the obvious result is that it bears their authority as well. Their authority was made clear at *Tusculanae* 1.26 when Cicero asserted the strength of antiquity as a source, and, as is noted by Henriette van der Blom, “adherence to the *maiores* lent authority to the follower”.¹⁸³ This connection with the *maiores* in turn strengthens the link between Ennius and *antiquitas*.

¹⁸² Cole (2006) 535.

¹⁸³ Van der Blom (2010) 20. For a discussion of *mos* and *maiores* in regard to Cicero and his use of historical *exempla*, see van der Blom (2010) 12-25.

When looking for parallels outside the *Tusculanae*, we need look no further than a passage from Book 2 of the *De Divinatione*, which was cited in the previous chapter when considering the use of Ennius as a source for Roman augury. In that discussion, I looked at how Cicero, through his association of Ennius with Homer, worked to produce an image of Ennius as just as culturally important to the Romans as Homer was to the Greeks. The present argument builds on that, although the focus now shifts from the circumstances of the citation to its content. By examining the quotation from another perspective, it is possible to see the subtleties of Cicero's authority-construction, and the harmonious way in which multiple methods can be employed at once:

Ad nostri augurii consuetudinem dixit Ennius: "tum tonuit laevum bene tempestate serena".

In regard to our system of augury, Ennius said: "Then, in the clear sky, [Jove] thundered favourably on the left".¹⁸⁴

In the context of the *De Divinatione*, Ennius is acting as a mouthpiece for Roman tradition, since he is cited as an authoritative source for the Roman augural system. The presentation of Ennius as one with an adept's understanding of a religious practice with profound importance to the Roman people perhaps builds upon the fact that in Book 1 Ennius' portrayal of Romulus and Remus' taking of the auspices is quoted as the final point in an argument for the legitimacy of augury.¹⁸⁵ Indeed, while we find Ennius quoted on both sides of the spectrum (in arguments for and against augury as a practice with legitimate value), his presence is the constant factor in each argument. The consistent use of Ennius as an authority for this religious practice not only emphasises his position as a mouthpiece for Roman tradition, but also highlights a form of authority-building that is more "assumptive" in nature. Ennius, by virtue of being used as an authority, is perceived by the reader to be an authority. I refer to this as an "assumptive" form of authority-building because the reader, perhaps naively, assumes that Ennius is authoritative for the discussion simply because he is repeatedly called upon as evidence. We cannot know for certain how much Ennius knew about

¹⁸⁴ Cic. *Div.* 2.82.

¹⁸⁵ Cic. *Div.* 1.107-8.

augural custom any more than we can know the degree to which he understood the nature of eclipses, but this uncertainty is what makes the study of Cicero's authority-building so open-ended and interesting. By virtue of either assertions of authority, or repeated citation as a source, Ennius becomes an authority in the reader's eyes.

Earlier in the *De Divinatione*, the speaker, Quintus, is also made to craft Ennius into a mouthpiece of Roman tradition. This is the first time that the *Annales* are cited in the work, and Ennius' position as a representative of Roman culture is evident from the outset. The method employed here recalls the *nostrorum opinio* of the *Tusculanae* since Ennius is cited for a Roman myth (*fabula*):

Num te ad fabulas revoco vel nostrorum vel Graecorum poetarum?
Narrat enim <et> apud Ennium Vestalis illa:

Shall I recall for you the stories of either Roman or Greek poets? For
that famous Vestal [Ilia] in Ennius recalls [her dream thus]:¹⁸⁶

Quintus is composing an argument concentrating on oracular dreams, and opts to cite examples from both Greek and Roman lore in order to illustrate his point. The Greek *fabula*, cited from a now unknown author, contains a description of a dream of Hecuba, in which she gave birth to a flaming torch, as well as Priam's subsequent reaction.¹⁸⁷ The Roman *fabula*, taken from Ennius' *Annales* (*Ann.* 34-50), features Ilia, mother of Romulus and Remus, recounting her dream. After quoting these two passages, Quintus goes on to acknowledge the fact that they are both the products of poets, before proceeding to give an example of a more "historical" oracular dream, as found in Accius' *Brutus*. It is the initial contrast of Ennius with the anonymous Greek poet that establishes his position as a mouthpiece for Roman beliefs, while the actual use of Ennius as the Roman source further increases his depiction as a cultural representative. Moreover, when Quintus asks if he should recall the *fabulae* of either Roman or Greek poets, he is, in fact, rhetorically inquiring whether he should cite examples from the two cultures. The Roman *fabula* comes from Rome's *noster poeta*, thus depicting Ennius as strictly Roman. It is clear, then, that Ennius provides a

¹⁸⁶ Cic. *Div.* 1.40.

¹⁸⁷ Cic. *Div.* 1.42.

nostrorum fabula in the *De Divinatione*, in much the same way that he provides a *nostrorum opinio* in the *Tusculanae*.

Cultural Authority II: Transmitting Roman beliefs

With the idea firmly established that Cicero asserted Ennius' authority in the realm of Roman culture by presenting him as a mouthpiece for Roman tradition, I want to push it further, and propose that Cicero treated Ennius as more than merely a cultural representative, making him an active participant in the transmission of Roman customs and beliefs. It has been made clear in this and previous chapters that Ennius' *Annales*, like the *Maximi Annales* of the Pontiffs, made information on Rome's past – its history and customs – accessible to Cicero and his contemporaries. Consider, as I have mentioned above, the phrase *ex hoc*: it performs the dual roles of connecting the *Annales* as a source with pontifical law and funerary rites, and relating the content of the quotation to these ancestral sources. The latter of these two roles is important for the present discussion. Essentially, Cicero is claiming that the belief in the migratory nature of the soul, which can clearly be deduced from ancient Roman customs, has been preserved by Ennius in the form of his account of Romulus' apotheosis; in short, Ennius has taken the views of one generation and made them available not only to his own, but also to those that followed, of whom Cicero and his readers are just a few.

More developed examples of this type of authority-assertion can be found in the *De Senectute* and *De Divinatione*, published shortly after the *Tusculanae*.¹⁸⁸ At *De Senectute* 16 Cicero cites what is purportedly an Ennian versification of a speech delivered to the Senate by Appius Claudius, in which he opposes the establishment of a peace treaty with the Macedonian king, Pyrrhus.¹⁸⁹ Following the quotation, Cato, the primary speaker, reminds Scipio and Laelius that they are familiar with the epic poem, and that a manuscript of Appius' speech is still in existence. Cato creates a further link between the poetic work of Ennius and the recorded oratory of Appius, building on his earlier claim that the quotation is a poetic translation of Appius'

¹⁸⁸ Griffin and Atkins (1991) xxxii-xxxiii. On the timeline of Cicero's philosophical works, the *Tusculanae* is dated to 45 B.C., with the *De Senectute* and *De Divinatione* dated to 44 B.C.

¹⁸⁹ I have previously examined this citation in Chapter 2 (p. 27f.), when discussing Cicero's use of dialogue speakers to construct authority. In this chapter, I shall approach the citation from a different point of view.

speech. By mentioning that a copy of the speech still existed, Cicero draws the reader to the conclusion that it was Ennius' source, with the implication that his verse rendering is a faithful representation of the speech. The image of Ennius as a cultural transmitter is created here, and developed in the following lines:

notum enim vobis carmen est, et tamen ipsius Appi exstat oratio. atque haec ille egit septemdecim annis post alterum consulatum, cum inter duos consulatus anni decem interfuissent censorque ante superiorem consulatum fuisset, ex quo intellegitur Pyrrhi bello grandem sane fuisse, et tamen sic a patribus accepimus.

For you are familiar with the poem [i.e. the *Annales*], and nevertheless, Appius' oration is still extant. That Appius delivered the speech on the seventeenth year after his second consulship, although ten years lay between his two consulships, and he was censor before his previous consulship. From this it is known that he was certainly an old man during the war with Pyrrhus, and yet, such is the tradition we receive from our ancestors.¹⁹⁰

The phrase *sic a patribus accepimus* is of particular importance here. Having introduced the possibility that Ennius had access to Appius' speech when he composed his *Annales*, Cato provides extra information about the circumstances of the speech's delivery and Appius' political success. Given that these facts are presented *after* the quotation from Ennius it makes sense that they could very well be in line with the career of Appius as recorded in the *Annales*.¹⁹¹ Cato is following a particular tradition, and it is obliquely hinted that this is also the tradition followed by Ennius in the *Annales*. The line cited from the *Annales*, along with the biographical details Cato supplies, contributes to the argument that old age (and blindness) did not force Appius Claudius to retire from public affairs. The two pieces of evidence are used in conjunction, with the phrase *sic a patribus accepimus* connecting the two and placing them within the same tradition. Since Ennius' work is cited in this manner, it

¹⁹⁰ Cic. *Sen.* 16.

¹⁹¹ This is not to say that Cicero derived his information on Appius Claudius' political career from the *Annales*, which is probably quite unlikely; rather, the point I want to make here is that the details given by Cicero in regard to the speech's delivery and Appius' political status probably echo the historical tradition preserved in the *Annales*.

is possible to see that he is constructed as actively passing down Roman historical tradition.

While the passage at *De Senectute* 16 has Ennius passing down historical tradition regarding Appius Claudius' speech opposing peace with Pyrrhus, the following passage in the *De Divinatione* that we shall now examine concerns the religious institution of augury. It is by covering both historical and religious tradition that Cicero presents Ennius as a complete cultural authority. I have already looked at how Cicero depicted Ennius as an authority for augury at *De Divinatione* 2.82, and by looking at *De Divinatione* 1.107-8 I shall now consider how Cicero portrays Ennius as passing down information on this practice. The quotation occurs at the end of a lengthy argument, in which the speaker, Quintus, has called upon a plethora of examples from various different peoples, indicating the importance of augury as a religious institution.¹⁹² The quotation (*Ann.* 72-91) is treated as a "historical datum"¹⁹³ and is introduced with a short commentary on the augural art of both Romulus and Remus, as Quintus declares that it was not a practice invented to deceive the gullible and that it was accepted by reliable men (*certi*):

Atque ille Romuli auguratus pastoralis, non urbanus fuit, nec fictus ad opinionones inperitorum, sed a certis acceptus et posteris traditus. Itaque Romulus augur, ut apud Ennium, cum fratre item augure:

And the famous augurate of Romulus was pastoral, not of the city, and nor was it fabricated for the beliefs of the ignorant, but accepted by trustworthy men and handed down to posterity. And so, Romulus was an augur, as in Ennius, with his brother [Remus] likewise an augur.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² This list of examples, which spans *Div.* 1.88-108, shares the same format as that of *Tusc.* 1.26-8, with the end being the most emphatic part. A number of peoples are cited, including the Trojans (1.89), the Gauls (1.90), the Persians (1.90-1), the Etrurians (1.92), the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Etruscans (1.93), the Athenians (1.95), the Spartans (1.95-6), and finally, the Romans (1.97ff.). As the last ethnic group listed, the Romans occupy the position of emphasis; furthermore, the quotation exhibits the role of augury in the foundation of Rome and "functions as the climactic example of divination in this section of the argument – the most exalted statesman of the most powerful civilized nation used augury"; Wardle (2006) 366.

¹⁹³ Elliott (2013) 185.

¹⁹⁴ Cic. *Div.* 1.107.

Quintus states that the augural practice employed by Romulus and Remus was accepted by trustworthy men (*certi*)¹⁹⁵ and passed down to later generations (*posteris*). I will look at each aspect in turn, as each is significant in the scheme of authority-construction. The declaration that the practice was accepted by *certi* is reminiscent of the passage in the *Tusculanae*, in which M claims that particular burial rites were observed by men endowed with great talent (*maximis ingeniis praediti*).¹⁹⁶ Cicero essentially uses the same technique in each case, as he gives legitimacy to an idea by claiming that it was accepted and obeyed by people who were intellectually gifted, and who could thus be considered trustworthy.¹⁹⁷ At first glance, the words *posteris traditus* refer to the aforementioned *certi*, but on closer inspection it can be seen that Ennius could also be considered the subject of the verb. Immediately following this, Quintus introduces the quotation with the words “and so... as in [the work of] Ennius” (*itaque... ut apud Ennium*). By citing an example from the *Annales*, Ennius becomes one of the *posteris* to whom the tradition was passed, while simultaneously being one who is himself passing it on; moreover, *itaque*, as a conjunction, aligns the sense of this sentence with that of the previous sentence, ensuring that a connection between Ennius, the *certi*, and the *posteris* is maintained. In this way, Ennius becomes an active part of the tradition, being both a recipient and a communicator of Roman beliefs: a *certus* and a *posterus*, along with the positive attributes afforded to each.¹⁹⁸

Cultural Authority III: A reliable source for Roman myth

The aspect of Ennius’ *Annales* that is most frequently asserted by Cicero is the reliability of the poem for the *res gestae Romanorum*. Whether it is a matter of history or myth, recollections cited from the *Annales* are generally accompanied by statements asserting its credibility. I brought attention to this in Chapter 2 when discussing the role of Cato in the *De Senectute*, and the fact that he “vouched” for Ennius’ historical depictions of Fabius Maximus’ battle-tactics (p. 27) and Marcus

¹⁹⁵ Elliott provides an alternative translation for *certi*, naming them “sure authorities”; Elliott (2013) 183.

¹⁹⁶ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.27.

¹⁹⁷ The idea, I believe, is to present these men as being beyond reproach, with the result that their acceptance of a belief would encourage others to subscribe to it with less reluctance. The possession of *ingenium*, as Cicero writes at *Topica* 78, can lead to the perception of virtue and, therefore, authority.

¹⁹⁸ The words and ideas used by Cicero in each of these three texts are strikingly similar: *a certis accepimus* (*Div.*) mirrors *maximis ingeniis praediti... coluissent* (*Tusc.*), just as *a patribus accepimus* (*Sen.*) is comparable to *a certis acceptus* (*Div.*)

Cethegus' oratory (p. 29f.). Further examples of Cicero stressing the historicity or historical value of the *Annales* can be found in his rhetorical works. In the *De Inventione*, a line from the *Annales* featuring Appius Claudius' declaration of war against the Carthaginians is cited as an example of *historia*, in contrast to both *fabula* and *narratio*;¹⁹⁹ in the *Brutus*, Cicero makes a point of emphasizing the fact that Ennius is the sole written source for the rhetorical prowess of Marcus Cethegus, thereby calling attention to the historical merits of the poem.²⁰⁰ With the exception of the *De Senectute*, in which the *Annales* is cited chiefly for descriptions of exemplary Romans, the philosophical works tend to highlight the accuracy of the *Annales* in regard to Ennius' accounts of mythological events. It is to this aspect of authority-building, and the as yet unexamined phrase *famae adsentiens* that I shall now turn:

Ex hoc et nostrorum opinione “Romulus in caelo cum dis agit aevom,”
ut famae adsentiens dixit Ennius.

From this, and in our opinion, “Romulus ascended, for eternity, into heaven with the gods”, as Ennius said, in agreement with tradition.²⁰¹

As I noted earlier, two different types of authority-building flank the citation here, with *ex hoc* acting as a means of presenting Ennius as a representative of Roman tradition, and *famae adsentiens* asserting that Ennius is faithfully reproducing the myth of Romulus' apotheosis. He states that Ennius is in total agreement (*adsentiens*) with the tradition (*fama*),²⁰² which the Romans believe (*nostrorum opinio*). The idea is that here Ennius has accurately recorded the most widely believed – and thus canonical – version of the myth, and, as a result of this depiction, the *Annales* are seen as a “conduit for prevailing traditions”.²⁰³ Essentially, Ennius is a Roman cultural authority, and, as a result, all accounts of Roman myths preserved in the *Annales* ought to adhere to their respective canonical versions. A parallel to this assertion of

¹⁹⁹ Cic. *De Inv.* 1.27. For his example of *historia*, Cicero cites *Ann.* 216 (*Appius indixit Carthaginiensibus bellum*); see Skutsch (1985) 385ff. for notes on the disputed context of the fragment.

²⁰⁰ Cic. *Brut.* 60.

²⁰¹ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.28.

²⁰² *Fama* can mean “tradition” or, in a negative context “gossip”, the personification of which is best exemplified by Virgil at *Aen.* 4.173-197. In the *Tusculanae* it likely refers to tradition, although, a case could be made that Ennius has taken common talk and, by virtue of his authority, given it legitimacy, thereby making it “real”. For a discussion of Virgil's treatment of *fama*, see Keith (1921).

²⁰³ Cole (2006) 534. Cole writes this with regard to the traditions surrounding the myth of Romulus; however, his observation is pertinent to other traditions preserved in the *Annales*.

authority, which echoes the sentiment of *famae adsentiens*, can be found in Book 2 of Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*.

Ennius' status as an authoritative source for Roman theological beliefs is established early in Book 2 of the *De Natura Deorum* by Balbus, who expounds Stoic beliefs on the nature of the divine:

Quod ni ita esset, qui potuisset adsensu omnium dicere Ennius:
"Aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Iovem", illum
vero et Iovem et dominatorem rerum et omnia nutu regentem et, ut
idem Ennius, "patrem divumque hominumque"...

But if it were not so, how could Ennius say, with the assent of all men:
"Behold this brilliant, lofty heaven, which all men invoke as Jove!"
indeed that is true, that Jove is both the ruler of the world, and rules all
things with his nod, and as the same Ennius says: "the father of gods
and men"...²⁰⁴

Two quotations are given, the first from Ennius' *Thyestes*,²⁰⁵ the second from the *Annales* (*Ann.* 592). Before looking specifically at the *Annales*, attention needs to be paid to the tragic verse and the introduction of the citation. Balbus begins his argument with an assertion of divine existence, and the first sources that he calls upon as evidence are the two Ennian texts. He claims that upon observation and contemplation of the sky and stars, it is clear that an omnipotent being must exist. The *Thyestes* quotation is used to introduce the idea that heaven (*hoc sublime candens*) is called Jove, while the phrase from the *Annales* is used to add an extra dimension to Jove's character, that is, Jove as the father of gods and men. Balbus also takes care to present Ennius as a worthy authority. When introducing the quotation, Balbus asks: if there was not a divine being (*numen*)²⁰⁶ ruling in the heavens, how was Ennius, with the assent of all men, able to speak thus? Crucial in his presentation of Ennius as an authoritative source is the phrase "with everyone's assent" (*adsensu omnium*), which,

²⁰⁴ Cic. *N.D.* 2.4.

²⁰⁵ *Scen.* 301 (*aspice hoc sublime candens quem invocant omnes Iovem*); see Jocelyn (1967) 423-4.

²⁰⁶ The opening of the quotation's introduction (*quod ni ita esset*) refers back to previous line: ... *quam esse aliquod numen praestantissimae mentis quo haec regantur?*

due to the presence of *omnium*, gives the impression that Ennius speaks with the approval of *everybody*.²⁰⁷ Thus he is again portrayed as being a mouthpiece for established Roman tradition, except that on this occasion the portrayal is made prior to a tragic excerpt, and not the *Annales*. This, of course, is not to say that the presentation of Ennius' authoritativeness did not apply to the citation from the *Annales*. Balbus uses a simple phrase that indicates authorial acknowledgement when he introduces the phrase as being from "the same Ennius" (*ut idem Ennius*); however, by using *idem*, he makes it clear that he has not simply quoted from Ennius, but from the same Ennius who speaks *adsensu omnium*.²⁰⁸ Much as he did with *famae adsentiens* in the *Tusculanae*, Balbus is made to highlight the fact that Ennius is speaking in accordance with the most widely held belief. Moreover, the similarity extends to the usage of *adsentio*, which in each case portrays Ennius' versions of the *nostrorum opiniones* as either being in agreement with tradition or as having the approval of all men. The culmination of this is to present Ennius as one who speaks *consensu omnium*. Cicero makes effective use of Ennius' authority to establish quickly – and casually – the existence of the divine and allow Balbus' argument to progress seamlessly.²⁰⁹

One of the *optimi auctores*

This thesis began with a discussion of the literary *auctor*, and so it is fitting that we end by discussing the presentation of Ennius as such a figure. Each of the authority-building techniques that have been examined in this section is effective in its own right. However, the credibility of the multiple presentations of Ennius is strengthened by the overarching assumption that he is one of the best authorities (*optimi auctores*), from whom Cicero says, at *Tusculanae* 1.26, that he could draw evidence. He states from the outset that he could call upon the best authorities to prove his point about death and the eternal nature of the soul, and makes no

²⁰⁷ Just as Quintus argued that universal acceptance of augury was evidence for its legitimacy (*Div.* 1.90-108), here Balbus' argument begins with the pronouncement of a universal belief in the divine.

²⁰⁸ A similar technique is employed at *Sen.* 14, where Cicero recalls the Ennius whom he had recently mentioned; see p. 47-8 and p. 53.

²⁰⁹ "Ennius' authority is thus effectively used, casually and in passing, to resolve the question of the existence of divinity for Cicero's purposes at the start of *Nat. D.* 2. It is a testament not only to Cicero's deftness as a rhetorician but also to the cultural status that made Ennius' words into a powerful rhetorical device that Cicero was so casually able to harness Ennius' words in the service of his speaker's doubt-ridden philosophical argument"; Elliott (2013) 175-6.

suggestion that any of the subsequent sources did not fall under the rubric of *optimi auctores*; in fact, the only comment he does make is to rank antiquity as the most authoritative. In this way, antiquity, pontifical law, burial customs, and Ennius himself are not only associated with antiquity and the power it yields (*debet et solere valere plurimum*),²¹⁰ but they are also included within the category of the *optimi auctores*.

This part of the *Tusculanae* (1.26-8) is the only occasion throughout the entirety of Cicero's philosophical corpus in which Ennius is described as an *auctor*, and so it becomes necessary to look at the speeches and rhetorical works to find a parallel. In contrast with my procedure with the other authority-building methods, here I shall look at the differences rather than the similarities. I have already spent time looking at the line from the *Pro Murena*, in which Cicero labelled Ennius a "talented poet and a very good authority" (*ingeniosus poeta et auctor valde bonus*),²¹¹ but it is worth contrasting it with this passage in the *Tusculanae* and a passage in the *Brutus*, in which we find the only other instance of Ennius being labelled as an *auctor*. Each case appeals to different sources of authority. In the *Pro Murena* Cicero uses Ennius' status and *ingenium* to contribute to his authoritativeness; in the *Tusculanae* he relies on the unquestionable authority possessed by *antiquitas*; but in the *Brutus* Cicero departs from the practice of giving a simple reason for Ennius' authority, instead making an effort to justify his identification of Ennius as an *auctor*, and imposing a sense of reliability upon his character:

... M. Cornelius Cethegus, cuius eloquentiae est auctor et idoneus quidem mea sententia Q. Ennius, praesertim cum et ipse eum audiverit et scribat de mortuo, ex quo nulla suspicio est amicitiae causa esse mentitum.

... Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, of whose eloquence Q. Ennius is an authority, and indeed, a suitable one in my opinion, especially since he

²¹⁰ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.26.

²¹¹ Cic. *Mur.* 30; cf. above, p. 13f.

had heard him and wrote after his death, from which there can be no suspicion that he lied because of friendship.²¹²

As we have seen, Cicero refers to Ennius as a fitting source (*idoneus auctor*) not only because he had witnessed Cethegus' eloquence first-hand,²¹³ but also because he was objective, since he wrote after Cethegus' death, thus removing the possibility of biased reporting. However, the *Brutus* is also unique in that Cicero is judging Ennius not on the amount of authority he possesses, but on his suitability as an authority for the argument. In this case the judgment pertains to his knowledge of the rhetorical prowess of Marcus Cethegus, and, to an extent, of Roman oratory in the mid-Republic. Furthermore, because Cicero himself presents the arguments in this text, he uses his own authority to assert the authority of Ennius, as evidenced by the phrase *in mea sententia*.²¹⁴ In this way, he capitalizes on his own authority, much as he did when he employed illustrious figures as speakers in his dialogues. The use of Cicero's own voice to promote the idea of Ennius as an *auctor* lays bare an interesting trend: throughout his corpus, it is Cicero, not one of his speakers, who bestows the title.²¹⁵ The historical figures, instead of outrightly calling Ennius an *auctor*, attribute to him the types of qualities that would make him one, as we saw with Cato in the *De Senectute*. Finally, when Cicero refers to Ennius as an *auctor*, he always does so with a modifying word intended to alter the manner in which we perceive his authority. In the *Tusculanae* he is one of the best authorities; in the *Pro Murena* he is a "very good" authority; and in the *Brutus* he is an "ideal" authority. While the first two instances are more general in their complimentary nature, the *Brutus* presents a more specialized degree of authority, making Ennius especially authoritative in the context of the argument.

Dico, and verbs of speaking

²¹² Cic. *Brut.* 57.

²¹³ Experience (*usus*) was one of the factors listed by Cicero at *Top.* 73 as contributing to one's *auctoritas*.

²¹⁴ We know from a letter sent to Quintus in the 50s B.C., that Cicero, due to his rank as an ex-consul, possessed a particular degree of authority; see *QF.* 3.5. What is more, Cicero's extensive background in oratory would surely have given his rhetorical works an added air of authority.

²¹⁵ The legal speech is, obviously, the voice of Cicero, as is the *Brutus*, while it has been argued that M in the *Tusculanae* also reflects his views; see above p. 21 n. 47.

Thus far I have discussed the more elaborate methods employed by Cicero for constructing Ennius' authority, whether it be usurping the *auctoritas* of Cato the Elder to portray the *Annales* as a valid historical text, or associating Ennius with Greek intellectuals as a means of extending his areas of authority, or asserting his position as the foremost cultural authority. The final facet of Cicero's authority-building that I shall consider is much simpler, and concerns Cicero's use of the authoritative verb, *dico*. As will be shown, *dico* could either be used on its own to imbue Ennius' words with *auctoritas* directly or in conjunction with other methods of authority-construction, such as at *Tusculanae* 1.28. As the verb with the highest rate of use with quotations from the *Annales*, it is clear that *dico* held particular importance in Cicero's mind. While in Chapter 3 I looked at *dico* in relation to *scribo*, my aim in the present section is to explore Cicero's use of *dico* in relation to the other verbs of speaking found in citation-introductions.²¹⁶ By looking at the respective definitions and applications of the various verbs, I shall attempt to explain Cicero's preference for *dico* and examine its role within his arguments.

The following table shows the frequency of occurrence of verbs of speaking in the introductions of citations from the *Annales*, across the four main genres of Cicero's work:

	Philosophical	Rhetorical ²¹⁷	Speeches	Letters
<i>Dico</i>	5	3		
<i>Aio</i>	1		1	
<i>Loquor</i>		1		
<i>Inquam</i>		2		1
<i>Narro</i>	2			
<i>Appello</i>	2	1		

The obvious fact here is the primacy of *dico*. It is used eight times, with the majority coming from the philosophical works. By contrast, *aio*, Varro's favoured

²¹⁶ For my earlier discussion of *scribo* and *dico*, see p.60 .

²¹⁷ *Brut.* 76 contains both *dico* and *inquam*, with *dico* used in the introduction and *inquam* used for the citation itself (*sed ipse **dicit** cur id faciat: 'scripsere' **inquit** 'alii rem vorsibus'*). Both verbs are included in the table.

verb of speaking, appears once in the philosophical works, and once in the speeches. In further contrast, Varro himself *never* uses *dico* to introduce verses from the *Annales*. More interesting, however, is the absence of both *loquor* and *inquam* from Cicero's philosophical treatises. These verbs, which are more closely linked with the physical act of speaking are better suited for the discussions of grammar and vocabulary in the rhetorical works and have no place in the philosophical works. In addition to these four verbs I have included *narro* and *appello*, which, while still being speaking verbs, have meanings that transcend the simple meaning of "to speak" or "to say". Their meanings are more context-specific,²¹⁸ and as such, their presence is merely to highlight that *dico* is Cicero's preferred verb of speaking, operating in place of words such as *aio* and *inquam*. It is clear from the table that Cicero's *dico* plays a similar role to Varro's *aio*, based on its higher ratio of use as an introductory verb. In order to appreciate fully and understand the role of *dico* in Cicero's introductions, it is first necessary to conduct a study of the other verbs of speaking.

Aio and *inquam*

As I have mentioned, Varro makes extensive use of *aio* when introducing citations from the *Annales*. When citing from Ennius' poetic work, he employed the verb seventeen times, of which seven belong to citations from the *Annales*.²¹⁹ On the other hand, Cicero's use of the verb is limited to appearances in the *Pro Murena* and the *De Re Publica*.²²⁰ Unlike *dico*, which, as I will show, has a more authoritative nature, *aio* serves a much simpler purpose. It seems that the two authors use the verb in much the same way – as a basic marker of direct speech. In the work of each author, *aio* can easily be translated as "he says", with no conceptual connotations of authority, nor any expanded meaning of explanation or recollection. This conclusion is based purely on the comparative uses of the verb by the two Republican authors. When Cicero uses *aio* in the *De Re Publica* it is preceded only by *sicut*, to show that the passage cited from the *Annales* is in agreement with the argument he is presenting; there are no added comments assessing veracity, nor is there any effort to

²¹⁸ Both words operate on an oral medium, but much more than meaning "to say", *narro* conveys the sense of "recounting" or "describing", while *appello* has the sense of "naming" or "calling".

²¹⁹ Varr. *LL* 5.55, 5.59, 5.65, 5.111, 7.21, 7.28, 7.41.

²²⁰ Cic. *Mur.* 30; *Rep.* 1. 64.

build on Ennius' authority.²²¹ Cicero's restricted use of *aio* can be attributed not only to the fact that he made extensive use of the Latin vocabulary in tailoring his citation-introductions to the types of verses he was quoting, but also to the different goals each author had in writing their respective texts. Cicero composed intricate philosophical arguments, in most cases presented as real-life dialogues, and therefore he was required to use verbs that were more varied and would give the argument more impact. Varro, on the other hand, was not under any such obligation. As a grammarian his goals are the elucidation of etymologies and the explanation of exotic expressions. Therefore, while Cicero must pay equal attention to both the quoted verse and its introduction, Varro is not bound by the same conventions and can focus more on the verse than its introduction.

While *inquam* does not appear in the philosophical works, it is still necessary to consider its role, especially within the framework of a discussion of verbs of speaking. Used for introducing *Annales* citations, it appears twice in the rhetorical works and once in a letter to Atticus.²²² In each instance its function is identical to that of *aio*, acting as a simple verse-introduction, with a "he says" translation. Much like the work of Varro, Cicero's rhetorical works operate in a manner different from their philosophical counterparts. While still containing arguments, the method of argumentation differs, and there is a greater focus on grammar and vocabulary. Instead of presenting complex philosophical concepts, Cicero cites examples of old Latin poetry to contrast it with the new breed of orators and poets, whom he has positioned himself against, as we shall see presently. When citing the *Annales* in the rhetorical works he uses the basic *inquam* twice as often as any other verb. As with *aio* in the *De Re Publica* there are no qualifying remarks that highlight any authoritative aspects of the quotation, the poet, or the poem; thus, just as we have *ait Ennius*, we have *inquit Ennius*. With this taken into consideration, we can determine that both *aio* and *inquit* were basic verbs of speaking, whose sole function was to act

²²¹ Contrastingly, the *Pro Murena* provides an excellent example of authority building in action. These two occurrences of *aio* appear in opposing circumstances, and it is important to remember that the context of each work differs vastly. In each case *aio* is a verb with little authoritative significance, as is demonstrated by its casual use in the *De Re Publica*, and by the amount of emphasis put on the strength of Ennius as a source in the *Pro Murena*. Furthermore, the only other *Annales* citation in a legal speech is found in the *Pro Balbo*, complete with an authoritative description of Ennius, although lacking any verb. On the evidence of the omission of any verb in the *Pro Balbo*, and the weak *aio* used in the *Pro Murena*, I would argue that verbs are of less importance to the legal speeches than to the philosophical treatises.

²²² Cic. *Orat.* 157, *Brut.* 76; *Att.* 6.2.8.

as a narrative device indicating a quotation and signifying its author. They added nothing more to the discussion than the lines they heralded in.

Loquor

Much like *inquam*, *loquor* is not used to introduce any citations from the *Annales* in the philosophical works, though it is used once in the *Orator*.²²³ Despite its absence from the philosophical works, some attention must be given to its role in the Latin vocabulary, to highlight the importance Cicero's choice of verbs of speaking. Its meaning, as with *aio* and *inquam*, can be easily garnered through observation of its application in introducing quotations. As noted above, Cicero quotes examples from old Latin poetry to contrast the Latin usage with that of the new orators and poets. One such instance of this occurs at *Orator* 161, when Cicero, writing that the old practice of omitting the *s* from a word ending in *-us* if followed by a word beginning with a vowel, was shunned by the new poets (*novi poetae*). When citing a line from the *Annales* as evidence of this, he uses *loquor* in the form of *loquabamur*, which is significant for two reasons. First, Cicero has used the imperfect tense in place of the perfect, which he generally uses for his verbs when quoting Ennius. Rather than confining this practice to the past, which the perfect would have done, he uses the imperfect to make it clear that it was an ongoing convention. Furthermore, by placing the verb in the first person plural, Cicero assimilates himself into the literary world of Ennius and the other poets who represent older Latin usage, positioning himself against the new poets.²²⁴

Ultimately, context is the main key to determining the role of *loquor*. In this case, Cicero is discussing the change of the pronunciation of words in order to produce a more pleasant sound, and it is from this that we can infer that *loquor* is a verb of speaking that pertains to physical act of talking. Thomas Habinek, in *The World of Roman Song*, describes *loquor* as “the most basic verb of speaking” and “the verb used of everyday speech”.²²⁵ As the most basic verb of speaking, with a definition that is ill-suited for any literary use other than the citation of grammatical examples, it is clear that *loquor* would have been an inappropriate verb-choice for the

²²³ Cic. *Orat.* 161.

²²⁴ For Cicero's attitude toward “new” poets, see Shackleton Bailey (1983) 240ff.

²²⁵ Habinek (2005) 61.

arguments of Cicero's philosophical treatises. Furthermore, because it is without any authoritative connotations, it has even less worth in texts that are dependent on the persuasiveness of the arguments presented.

Dico

Cicero's goal in composing his philosophical texts is to create arguments that are as persuasive as possible, particularly when concerning the philosophical doctrine to which he is aligned.²²⁶ One such method for achieving this goal is to enhance the audience's perception of the authority of the authors – and texts – whom he quotes. When Ennius is cited for the purpose of strengthening an argument, it is imperative that both he and his words be presented as authoritative. *Dico* can work alongside the different authority-building techniques that fashion Ennius into a credible source and ultimately instill in the reader the perception of Ennius as a trustworthy, authoritative source – an *auctor*.

It is important to note from the outset that *dico* has a wide range of meanings, not least of which is the simple meaning of “speak” or “talk”. Moreover it must also be acknowledged that, as the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* states, it is also “used more widely of authors, books”, meaning that it could perform a role akin to that of *aio* and *inquam*.²²⁷ This also raises the possibility that the popularity of *dico* in the philosophical works derives from its use as a word employed strictly for quoting sources. However, in view of Cicero's meticulous nature as a writer, it is hard to imagine that he chose the verb solely because it *could* be used for quotations. It is true that in the rhetorical works we see *dico* used to introduce grammatical citations, as is the case with a quotation from Accius:

Atqui dixit Accius?

²²⁶ In his translation of Book 1 of the *De Divinatione*, Wardle writes that Cicero, representing his favoured Academic Skepticism, “destroys” Quintus’ Stoic arguments, much like the dismantling of a witness’ argument in a cross-examination; Wardle (2006) 25.

²²⁷ OLD (1968) s.v. *dico*. *Dico* also seems to have the meaning of “to explain” or “to reason”, as is evident at *Brut.* 76, where Cicero uses it when giving Ennius’ supposed reason for not covering the First Punic War in his *Annales*: “... but he explains why he did this” (*sed ipse dicit cur id faciat*). Given its application at *Orat.* 171, it seems as though *dico* could also mean “to judge” or “to criticize”, since Cicero attempts to justify his opinion of past orators by using Ennius as a precedent, because “Ennius was allowed to speak of the older poets with contempt” (*Ennius licuit vetera contemneri dicere*). Each of these alternate definitions convey a sense of authority.

But what did Accius say?²²⁸

While this provides evidence that *dico* could play the role of simpler verbs such as *aio*, it must be remembered that context – as always – is vital in determining the function of verbs. In this case Accius is being used as an example of an older writer who shortened his genitive plurals from *-orum* to *-um*, despite this being grammatically incorrect. Here Cicero uses *dico* for its most basic meaning, and thus *dixit Accius* is no different from *inquit Ennius*. Furthermore, to take a pragmatic point of view, Cicero had a wealth of verbs at his disposal; with his extensive rhetorical background it is inconceivable to imagine that he would cite every quotation in a book on rhetorical style using only two verbs. In the philosophical works, however, the context is markedly different, and quotations are used more to persuade more than illustrate, thereby requiring a more influential verb. It is with this in mind that I reaffirm my argument regarding *dico* and its role: Cicero's use of *dico* is directly related to the authoritative connotations attached to it; moreover, his choice of *dico* is inextricably linked to his authority-building endeavours.

Habinek, in an enlightening discussion on the differences between *cano*, *dico*, and *loquor*, writes that *dico* can be translated as “to express with authority” or “to insist upon the validity of”.²²⁹ Unlike *aio* and *inquam*, which Cicero only uses for the purpose of denoting quotations, *dico* has authoritative undertones which give it a much stronger meaning, affecting both its use in arguments and the way that quotations introduced with it are perceived. More than simply being “said”, verses come to be “declared”, “asserted”, or “stated” by their author, who, especially in the case of Ennius, has been presented as having the credentials to do so. The difference in sense also proves to be the difference in citing Ennius either as a grammatical

²²⁸ Cic. *Orat.* 156. The context of this passage makes it clear that *dico* is being used as a simple verb of speaking and not for its authoritative connotations. In addition to using *dico* with the Accius quotation, Cicero also uses it to describe his own style of speaking, at instances before and after his citations from Accius. The context and the frequency of *dico*'s occurrence in this passage lead me to believe that Cicero is not concerned with authority here: *quam centuriam, ut censoriae tabulae locuntur, fabrum et procum audeo dicere, non fabrorum et procorum; planeque duorum virorum iudicium aut trium virorum capitalium aut decem virorum stlitibus iudicandis dico nunquam. Atqui dixit Accius: “Video sepulcra dua duorum corporum” idemque “Mulier una duom virum”. Quid verum sit intellego; sed alias ita loquor ut concessum est, ut hoc vel pro deum dico vel pro deorum, alias ut necesse est, cum trium virum, non virorum, et sestertium, nummum, non sestertiorum, nummorum, quod in his consuetudo varia non est.*

²²⁹ Habinek (2005) 63.

precedent or as evidence in a philosophical discussion. It also helps to explain why Varro and Cicero had their preferred verbs. Cicero used *dico* for the force it gave his quotations; Varro used *ait* because, as a grammarian defining and explaining grammatical peculiarities, he had no reason to present any of his sources as authoritative – it was Varro himself who was the authority.

Habinek's rendering of the word also highlights the fundamental difference between *dico* and *loquor*, with the former used of authoritative utterances, and the latter of everyday speech. It is interesting to note the fact that both compounds of *loquor* and their derivatives, for example *elocutio*, actually occupied positions of importance within the field of rhetoric. However, this is only possible, as Habinek explains, because "compounds of *dico* (e.g. *edico*, *praedico*) were already in use to describe socially authoritative linguistic functions".²³⁰ So while *loquor* itself was the "most basic" verb of speaking, its cognates were important within the rhetorical sphere. This was made possible because the cognates of *dico* took on a role that was "socially authoritative". The final difference between *dico* and *loquor* that I want to draw attention to comes from Cicero himself, and may shed further light on his decision to use *dico*, with the vital role it plays in his citation introductions. In his *Orator* Cicero distinguishes *loquor* from *dico*:

Quamquam aliud videtur oratio esse aliud disputatio nec idem loqui esse quod dicere ac tamen utrumque in disserendo est; disputandi ratio et loquendi dialecticorum sit, oratorum autem dicendi et ornandi.

Although an oration appears to be one thing and a dispute another, and talking (*loqui*) does not appear to be the same as speaking (*dicere*), nevertheless, both are in relation to discourse; the concern of logicians is disputing and talking, but, the concern of the orator is speaking and embellishing.²³¹

Cicero confines *dico* to the world of the orator. Both words are concerned with discourse, though the types of discourse to which they refer is different. In the phrase

²³⁰ Habinek (1998) 70.

²³¹ Cic. *Orat.* 113.

oratorum dicendi et ornandi Cicero establishes *dico* as an ornate kind of speaking, and, being that of the orator, it is more cultivated than the simpler language involved in a debate. The inference could be that an orator's speech is more studied, more articulate, and more eloquent, than the debates or disputes of logicians. In essence, Cicero makes *dico* the word of orators, and Habinek writes that Cicero gives this (misleading) description as a way to "enforce the privileged position of rhetoric and its authority within Roman society".²³² Cicero clearly evinces a belief in the superiority of *dico* as a verb of speaking, possibly taking advantage of the societal authority that the word already possessed. In any case, another facet is added to Cicero's use of *dico* with citations from the *Annales*. It could be argued that by using *dico* to introduce these quotations, he sought to take advantage of the authority inherent in *dico*, as well as its relationship with the persuasive art of oratory. Thus *dico* becomes doubly effective for Cicero's arguments as it conveys Ennius' work as possessing both authority *and* eloquence, the latter being the hallmark of a great orator. Cicero's goal is to persuade his readers, and *dico* aids in this by simultaneously making his source's words authoritative and eloquent.²³³

It has been firmly established that *dico* sat atop the hierarchy of verbs of speaking in terms of its authority, which explains both its presence in Cicero and its absence from Varro. As with the other verbs I have looked at in this section, a consideration of *dico*'s use within Cicero's texts will provide evidence of its meaning. The table at the beginning of the section reveals that Cicero employs *dico* on five occasions when quoting the *Annales* in his philosophical corpus. Of these five, four are in citations attributed to Ennius, with the remaining citation introduced without any specific authorial acknowledgement. When attributing a quotation to Ennius, Cicero uses *dico* in two distinct ways, each altering the reception of the quoted verse and taking advantage of the link between *dico* and *auctoritas*. Of the four attributed to Ennius, a majority can safely be said to adhere to the sense of Habinek's translation of "to express with authority".²³⁴ This is due to the fact that each citation involves some form of authority-construction, whether it is contextual, such as the association of

²³² Habinek (1998) 70. Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 12.6.5.

²³³ We find *dico* used in the context of oratory at *Sen.* 16, when Cicero outlines the content of the Ennian versification he is to be quoting: *tamen is cum sententia senatus inclinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum, non dubitavit [Appius] dicere illa quae versibus persecutus est Ennius.*

²³⁴ Three of these four instances have already been examined for the different methods of authority-construction. The remaining citation, from *Rep.* 1.30, will be examined in due course.

Ennius with Homer in the *De Divinatione*, or an appended comment bringing the reader's attention to the faithfulness of Ennius' account, as in the *Tusculanae*. However, only two of the citations present Ennius' verses as authoritative statements, whereas the others take advantage of another role played by *dico*. Let us look at these different types of citation in turn. The first group is as follows:

... Ad nostri augurii consuetudinem dixit Ennius:

... Ennius said about our augural customs:²³⁵

Ut famae adsentiens dixit Ennius:

As Ennius said, agreeing with tradition:²³⁶

In these cases Ennius' words are presented as statements of fact, coming from his own mouth. In the first citation, coming from the *De Divinatione*, a verse describing the simple narrative event of Jove giving a favourable omen is transformed into an authoritative utterance from the Roman Homer.²³⁷ The second, the narrative line depicting Romulus' apotheosis is presented similarly, with the other words in the citation introduction, *famae adsentiens*, emphasizing Ennius' authoritativeness and obedience to tradition, as I showed earlier.²³⁸ By using the perfect tense, *dixit*, Cicero firmly entrenches the quotations in the realm of the past, the times of Cato the Elder and his fellow *maiores*, to whom Cicero and his contemporaries often looked for guidance.²³⁹ This point is important, and perhaps requires some elaboration. Obviously, the perfect tense is the most appropriate tense for citing a poet who had

²³⁵ Cic. *Div.* 2.82.

²³⁶ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.28.

²³⁷ For Ennius as the Roman Homer, see the authority-building technique of "association" in the previous chapter. The fragment reads: "Then, in the clear sky, [Jove] thundered favourably on the left" (*tum tonuit laevom bene tempestate serena*); for commentary, see Skutsch (1985) 688-90.

²³⁸ When discussing the importance of *famae adsentiens* I cited an example in the *De Natura Deorum* (*N.D.* 2.4) that paralleled the *Tusculanae* in presenting Ennius as speaking in agreement with traditional beliefs (p. 78). *Dico* is also the verb in that sentence: *qui potuisset adsensu omnium dicere Ennius*.

²³⁹ Considering that Cicero uses figures from the past as the speakers in his dialogues for the authority they lend his ideas, there is a question of how much more authority is contained in the words of Ennius, who, as the contemporary of some of Cicero's speakers, was himself a *maior*.

died over a century before Cicero begun philosophizing.²⁴⁰ The present and imperfect tenses would have conveyed entirely different meanings, changing the quotation from something stated once in the past to something that was more of an ongoing process. This was evident in Cicero's use of the imperfect with *loquabamur* at *Orator* 161 when discussing the linguistic custom of eliding the final *s* from a word when another beginning with a vowel follows it. Confining a quotation to the past, however, does add a sense of age (*aetas*) or antiquity (*antiquitas*), which carries its own sense of authority. The dramatic difference caused by the change in tense will become more evident when I examine the citation-introduction at *De Natura Deorum* 2.64.

The remaining three occurrences of *dico* in the named citations, while still retaining the verb's sense of authority, employ one of its other meanings. In these cases *dico* takes on a definition similar to that of *appello*, meaning "to call", "to name", or "to designate". That said, *dico*'s presence in the argument seems markedly stronger than that of *appello*, which, when introducing lines from the *Annales*, seems to be used in a much more casual manner. In addition to its use at *Tusculanae* 1.27 to introduce Ennius into the argument with his labelling of the ancient Romans as *Casci*, Cicero also uses *appello* in the *De Re Publica* to introduce a metaphor about the relative importance to the state of citizens who do and do not take part in public affairs:

Equidem quem ad modum "urbes magnas atque imperiosas" ut appellat Ennius, viculis et castellis praeferendas puto...

Indeed, just as, I think, "great and imperious cities" as Ennius calls them, are to be preferred to hamlets and fortresses...²⁴¹

His intention is to create a comparison that James Zetzel expresses as "cities are to villages, as statesman are to philosophers".²⁴² Zetzel further describes the relevance of the quotation to the argument as "minimal", while also calling the analogy "scarcely compelling". The point here is that *appello* has been used in a casual manner,

²⁴⁰ Skutsch puts Ennius' death somewhere between 169-167 B.C.; Skutsch (1985) 2. Cicero does primarily use the perfect tense, but *not* exclusively; he tailors his verb-use to fit the circumstances.

²⁴¹ Cic. *Rep.* 1.3.

²⁴² Zetzel (1995) 101.

introducing a citation that adds flavour rather than substance to the argument. In the case of the *Tusculanae*, *appello* brings Ennius into the discussion and sets the stage for his later presentation as a cultural authority; in the case of the *De Re Publica* metaphor, on the other hand, Cicero cites the *Annales* as a way of illustrating an unconvincing analogy. When *dico* is used with the meaning of “to call” or “to label”, the tone of the argument has a distinctly higher level of *gravitas*.

(Cethegus) quem recte “suadae medullam” dixit Ennius.

Cethegus, whom Ennius rightly called “the marrow of persuasion”.²⁴³

... noster ille amicus, dignus huic ad imitandum, “egregie cordatus homo, catus Aelius Sextus”, qui “egregie cordatus” et “catus” fuit et ab Ennio dictus est, non quod ea quaerebat quae numquam inveniret, sed quod ea respondebat quae eos qui quaesissent et cura et negotio solverent...

... that friend of ours, worthy of imitation, “Sagacious Aelius Sextus, a man most wise”, who was really “most wise” [*egregie cordatus*] and “sagacious” [*catus*], and was called so by Ennius, not because he sought what he could never find, but because he gave counsel that eased the worry and troubles of those who asked him²⁴⁴

While the uses of *appello* have no major significance to either the argument presented or the overall authority-building of Ennius, when *dico* is used for the same purpose, the arguments are of more consequence. In the first case, the description of Cethegus comes at the end of a list of figures who were ardent speakers despite their age. Just as Cicero positions Ennius as the final Roman source for the belief in apotheosis at *Tusculanae* 1.26-8, Ennius here occupies the point of emphasis with his citation of Cethegus’ nickname.²⁴⁵ In addition to this is the authority-enforcing comment by Cato

²⁴³ Cic. *Sen.* 50.

²⁴⁴ Cic. *Rep.* 1.30.

²⁴⁵ It is at *Brut.* 59 that Cicero claims that the people of Cethegus’ age called him “the marrow of the people”. Skutsch, however, thinks this unlikely, stating that *medulla* is a “strange metaphor” and that “Cethegus’ contemporaries would hardly have expressed themselves in this way”; see Skutsch (1985)

that Ennius has titled Cethegus correctly (*recte*). Thus *dico* is working in much the same manner as *appello* might, though in a situation that requires a more authoritative verb.

Like the example from *De Divinatione* 2.82, the authority at *De Re Publica* 1.30 is derived more from context than any specific authority-building comments appended by Cicero. As with the argument in the *De Senectute*, Cicero here is quoting the *Annales* for a description of another distinguished historical Roman, Aelius Sextus. It is possible that we find *dico* used in association with this citation because of the very fact that we are dealing with a figure of high repute, and thus the circumstances demand a verb with a more august tone.²⁴⁶ Furthermore, Aelius is being quoted as an *exemplum* of a figure who argued *against* the importance of astronomical studies,²⁴⁷ just as Cethegus is cited as an *exemplum* of passion in old age. His exemplary status is made clear when the speaker, Laelius, states that Aelius is “worthy of imitation” (*dignus... ad imitandum*). Laelius must start his counter-argument²⁴⁸ with a strong, authoritative *exemplum*.

Moreover, this particular passage is interesting because it is not the quotation itself that is introduced with *dico*, but references to descriptive terms within it; in fact, it is not introduced at all, but inserted into the text. The quoted verse is then followed by statements that reinforce the image of Aelius. Laelius confirms the presentation by using the very same words that are present in the poetic line, asserting that Aelius *was* “most wise” (*egregie cordatus*) and “sagacious” (*catus*), and explaining that his reputation for wisdom came from the quality of advice he gave. The verbs in this explanation, *quaerebat* and *respondebat*, because they are in the indicative, transform

486. Incidentally, this passage in the *Brutus* also has *dico* used with the meaning of *appello*: ... *qua virum excellentem praeclare tum illi homines florem populi esse dixerunt* “*Suadai Medulla*”.

²⁴⁶ It must be acknowledged that the very same quotation is found without introduction (though it is not quoted for its narrative content but its grammatical content) at *Tusc.* 1.18, and is introduced with *appello* at *De Orat.* 1.198: *sic appellatus a summo poeta est*. It is possible that the strong emphasis on Ennius’ status, and thus authority, since the “supreme poet” is enough to warrant the absence of a stronger verb like *dico*. Context, as always, is important, and it is my contention that the philosophical and rhetorical works were composed with a different set of rules in this regard.

²⁴⁷ In the *De Divinatione* ; for an elaborated discussion of this passage, see Elliott (2013) 189-193.

²⁴⁸ Laelius responds to the arguments of Scipio by stating that while cultivation of the arts is good for sharpening the minds of the young, arts such as philosophy should be practised in moderation, as there are more worthwhile studies to engage in; *Cic. Rep.* 1.30ff.

something that has been inferred (possibly from the *Annales*) into something that is “fact”.²⁴⁹

The final use of *dico* to be examined appears in the *De Natura Deorum*. The speaker, Balbus, is discussing the different gods in the Roman pantheon, giving etymologies and the other titles by which they were known. This quotation (*Ann.* 592) occurs when Balbus is noting the epithets given to Jupiter:

... a poetis ‘patrem divomque hominumque’ dicitur, a maioribus autem nostris optumus maxumus...

... by poets he is called “the father of gods and men”, by our ancestors [he was called] “best and greatest”...²⁵⁰

The primary difference between this citation-introduction and the other examples adduced in this section is the absence of any authorial attribution to Ennius. Instead, the verse is attributed collectively to poets; of course, since it is an epic-style epithet in Latin hexameters²⁵¹ the field of authors is narrowed considerably, and it becomes clear that Ennius is the source. In this way, he becomes a representative of not only the Roman tradition for which he is providing evidence, but also of the ongoing poetic tradition, of which he is an integral part. Unlike the four other occurrences of *dico* in the philosophical works, this is the only occasion where Cicero has not put the verb in the perfect tense, and this is how we can tell that Ennius represents an ongoing tradition. Placing the verse in the perfect tense would have confined it to the past, making it a statement once uttered and not a continuing process, while also placing it within the realm of the *maiores*. In this case, the use of the present tense for a poetic verse composed over two centuries before the composition of the *De Natura Deorum* itself gives the impression that the verse is continually recited, thus making it a piece of poetic tradition. Moreover, while the perfect tense may create a closer association with the *maiores* than the present, Cicero still manages to create a link in this passage by giving the title (*Optumus Maxumus*) that the early Romans bestowed upon Jupiter.

²⁴⁹ Elliott (2013) 177.

²⁵⁰ Cic. *N.D.* 2.64.

²⁵¹ The epithet is likely a Latinized version of Homer’s πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε; see Skutsch (1985) 730.

As if to include Ennius among sources whose authority derives from *antiquitas*, in his recollection of Saturn's story (immediately preceding Jupiter in Balbus' list of Roman deities) he cites the ancient belief (*vetus opinio*) prevalent throughout ancient Greece.²⁵² Cicero effectively calls upon what could be considered the foremost cultural authorities: the beliefs of the ancient Greeks, the words of Rome's *summus poeta* and founder of Latin epic, and the customs of the ancient Romans.

The difficulty with this citation-introduction is determining whether *dico* was used for the authority it possesses, or simply for stylistic reasons. This particular part of the argument does not require a strong verb, nor does a source such as tradition need the help of one. On the other hand, it seems fitting that a weighty source be accompanied by an equally weighty verb. There is also the possibility that Cicero has simply chosen *dico* to mean "to call" because he used *appello* in the previous sentence when noting that people his age need only change the inflexion of Jupiter's name to call him "Jove".²⁵³ Given that Cicero has used *dico* authoritatively in conjunction with citations from the *Annales* throughout the philosophical works, I see little reason to doubt that he is doing the same here. The contrast created by the present and the past is evidence of this: Cicero and his contemporaries are the subject of *appello*, while Ennius, poetic tradition, and the Roman *maiores* are the subjects of *dico*.²⁵⁴ It is more likely that Cicero, as a brilliant orator and a meticulous writer, would take advantage of stylistic conventions rather than be a prisoner to them.

Conclusion

The authority-building measures observed by Cicero in the *Tusculanae* are a blend of both subtle and overt techniques, which, on the whole, require less deductive reasoning than those of the *De Re Publica*. The methods work in harmony to establish Ennius as an *idoneus auctor* for the Roman belief in the migration of the soul after death. Working in a slightly different way from the *De Re Publica*, in which Cicero uses the methods of "implication" and "association" to affect the reception of Ennius' authority, the *Tusculanae* uses a blend of rhetorical placement and straightforward

²⁵² Cic. *N.D.* 2.63.

²⁵³ Cicero explains that the name "Jupiter" is the result of a combination of *iuvans* and *pater*, whereas "Jove" comes from *iuvando* (*sed ipse Iuppiter – id est iuvans pater, quem conversis casibus appellamus a iuvando Iovem*); *N.D.* 2.63-4.

²⁵⁴ Consider also the oral nature of poetry and that verbs of speaking reflect this; see p. 60.

assertions to achieve that goal. This difference is further compounded by Cicero's aims in the two different texts. Whereas Ennius' intellect and wisdom are the focal points of the *De Re Publica*, it is his position as a Roman cultural authority that is emphasized in the *Tusculanae*. This depiction is brought about through association with the authority of *antiquitas*, the weight of which Cicero has stressed at multiple points in his corpus. Moreover, Ennius was endowed with considerable *gravitas* by virtue of his placement as the final Roman source in the argument, which like a typical Latin sentence begins and ends with its two most emphatic parts. In addition to both *antiquitas* and *gravitas*, Cicero confers the authority of the *auctores* when he quotes Ennius along with ancestral custom and *antiquitas* as the *optimi auctores* adduced for his argument. Perhaps the biggest difference between the two texts is that while the methods employed in the *De Re Publica* require some level of deduction to interpret, those in the *Tusculanae* – with the exception of the association with *antiquitas* and the presentation of Ennius as an *auctor* – are asserted in an open manner. The phrases *ex hoc et nostrorum opinione* and *famae adsentiens* exemplify this open manner of asserting authority. In the same way that Cato at *De Senectute* 50 declares that Ennius spoke correctly (*recte*) when describing Cethegus as the “marrow of persuasion”, Cicero brackets the quotation depicting Romulus' apotheosis with a commentary indicating that the quotation's content was derived from ancestral beliefs (*ex hoc et nostrorum opinione*) and in agreement with tradition (*famae adsentiens*). Furthermore, it is also possible that through his selection of *fama*, which can refer to either tradition or common gossip, Cicero intended this passage to portray Ennius as actually canonizing a particular version of the Romulus myth, thus cementing his status as a transmitter of Roman culture.²⁵⁵

In addition to examining the authority-building measures implemented by Cicero in the *Tusculanae*, this chapter has also looked at the role of *dico* as a verb for introducing quotations and directly asserting authority. The primacy of *dico* is explained through a comparison with the other verbs of speaking employed by Cicero when citing the *Annales*, coupled with an analysis of each citation-introduction featuring *dico*. Indeed, *dico*'s importance to the composition of Cicero's arguments can be attributed to both its innate authoritative force, and the range of meanings that it encompasses. *Aio* and *inquam* are simple verbs that lack authority and are best

²⁵⁵ For a concise look at the different stories surrounding Romulus' death, see Carter (1909) 22-25.

suited as markers of direct speech; *loquor*, by comparison, is weaker still, being relegated to the status of “the most basic verb of speaking”,²⁵⁶ and pertaining more to the physical act of speaking. In truth, *dico* could be – and was – used as a marker of direct speech in some instances; however, its authority far outweighed that of the other verbs of speaking. When used for citing the *Annales*, *dico* was always employed in a manner that presented the content of the quotation as authoritative. Cicero’s methods for doing this ranged from having his speakers comment on content, as Cato does with Ennius’ description of Cethegus, to using the verb in circumstances that would require an authoritative source, as in the *De Divinatione*, where Ennius is cited alongside Homer. Furthermore, the analysis has yielded evidence that *dico*’s use is not limited to statements or declarations, but could be called upon to act as a stronger form of *appello*, evident in *De Re Publica*. Ultimately, *dico*’s association with both authority *and* eloquence explains why it is Cicero’s favoured verb for citing Ennius’ *Annales*. Because of these associations, *dico* instills the quotations it heralds in with both qualities, thus making it an effective verb not only for introducing citations, but also for asserting the authority of the author. A true orator and wordsmith, Cicero took advantage of the verb that could do no less than make his arguments that much more persuasive.

²⁵⁶ Habinek (2005) 61.

Conclusion

Cicero greatly admired Ennius,” says S., but without asking questions concerning Cicero’s purposes in his citations – what he admired, in what contexts and for what ends he tends to cite him, and what might be learned about Ennius’ poem from such considerations.²⁵⁷

David Ross’ observation on what is lacking in Otto Skutsch’s discussion of the relationship between Ennius and Cicero is intriguing. In Skutsch’s defence, he produced an authoritative commentary that covers an immense amount of material, for which all those studying the *Annales* should be thankful. In spite of this, the questions posed by Ross are in need of answers, and it is my hope that this thesis can provide a meaningful contribution to the study of Ennius’ reception within the works of Cicero, one of our foremost sources for Ennius’ fragments and indeed the foremost source for our perception of the poet himself. By engaging in a close analysis of the citation-introductions in Cicero’s philosophical works, I have aimed to provide an alternative way of interpreting Cicero’s citation-methods, while also bringing attention to his methods for constructing authority. This methodology has enabled me to identify and establish the presence of multiple authority-building techniques, as I have taken into account all aspects of the relevant citation-introductions. Context, verb use, and syntax are just as important for the understanding of authority-building as the content of Cicero’s words, and throughout this thesis I have striven, wherever possible, to pay attention to all facets of the citations I discuss.

This thesis opens with a chapter devoted to presenting an understanding of both the literary *auctor* and the means by which a writer could come to be considered an authority. *Auctor* was originally a term confined to the realm of legal affairs, and took on meanings such as “witness” and “guarantor of a truth”; however, as Roman society and its literature developed, and the legal and literary worlds began to converge, the meaning of *auctor* expanded to include literary figures such as Ennius. Cicero himself must have contributed to this expanded definition, especially in light of his admission that he applied his years of rhetorical experience to the composition

²⁵⁷ Ross (1988) 254.

of the arguments of his philosophical works.²⁵⁸ Moreover, Cicero's use of *auctor*, not only to mean "authority" but also "author" or "poet", anticipated the medieval use of the term, as is highlighted by Jan Ziolkowski.

Cicero demonstrates an *ad hoc* approach when citing the *Annales*. He tailors each quotation to the argument he presents, and this is reflected in the types of authority-building found throughout his works. He appeals to the various facets of *auctoritas* to mould Ennius into a worthy authority for arguments, calling upon *doctrina*, *sapientia*, *gravitas*, and *antiquitas* as his main sources of authority. In addition to this, Cicero also exploits the *gravitas* and *auctoritas* of eminent historical Romans. He uses them as the speakers in his dialogues in the hope that they will lend their authority both to his philosophical precepts and his depictions of Ennius' character. Authority-building methods such as implication (p. 44), association (p. 48), and rhetorical placement (p. 67) represent the subtler techniques that Cicero employs, whereas claims of historicity or faithfulness, such as Cato's judgement of Ennius' description of Cethegus' oratory (p. 29) and the declaration that Ennius speaks with universal assent (p. 78), are representative of more overt means. Finally, it has become clear that Cicero harboured no reservations about employing multiple methods of authority-construction within a single citation-introduction; indeed, he does so to great effect. The passage examined in Chapter 4 can be regarded as a tour de force of authority-construction, since Ennius' position as a cultural authority is emphasised in a number of ways, ranging from the assertion of his faithfulness to tradition, to the association with antiquity, to the arrangement of the argument itself.

The elucidation of authority-building methods is one aspect of my examination of Cicero's citation-introductions. In addition to authority-building I have tried to throw light on the consequent portrayal of Ennius resulting from Cicero's endeavours. Ennius, described as *summus poeta noster* in the *Pro Balbo*, underwent multiple changes of identity, becoming a historical source, a Roman Thales, a Roman Gorgias, and even the Roman Homer he claims to incarnate in the *Annales* – a Roman equivalent to the greatest Greek minds. The arguments of the *De Re Publica*, *De Senectute* and *De Divinatione*, in which these identities are manifested, present Ennius as a figure who either equals or transcends his Greek

²⁵⁸ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.7.

predecessors; however, although he is associated with Greek scholars, it is always clear that Ennius is a representative of Rome and her values. This is exemplified at *Tusculanae* 1.26-8, where the aim is not to equate Ennius with other intellectuals, but to portray him as an incontrovertible authority for Roman tradition. Verbs also play their part in consolidating Cicero's authority-building. From *scribo* and its prosaic undertones to the authority of *dico*, Cicero also adeptly uses verbs to add an extra layer to his assertions of *auctoritas*. *Scribo*, as seen at *De Re Publica* 1.25 and confirmed by a similar use at *Brutus* 57, works to shift the *Annales* from the world of poetry to the world of authoritative prose-writing such as the *Annales Maximi*, thus creating the impression of a poem that was more akin to scientific or historical prose. Cicero repeatedly makes use of the strong sense of authority inherent in *dico*, as well as any relationship the verb may have had with oratory. By combining the verb with verses from the *Annales* he presents Ennius as speaking authoritatively, confidently, and persuasively, whatever the subject.

It might be asked why I have frequently referred back to the same texts, to which I would respond that this was not by design, but by necessity. Although prolific in his publication of philosophical treatises, and although fond of Ennius and the *Annales*, Cicero does not always seek to employ him as evidence. Texts such as the *Paradoxa Stoicorum* and the *De Amicitia* feature no citations from the *Annales*, while texts such as the *Academica* feature comparatively fewer than the *De Divinatione*, for example. In this study I have been necessarily confined to a limited set of texts. This, however, should not be seen in a negative light. Though my primary focus has been on authority-building in the philosophical texts, I have ventured into the rhetorical works and speeches when necessary. Due to the sheer breadth of Cicero's deployment of *Annales* citations throughout his corpus, it would have been difficult to examine each citation-introduction within the confines of this thesis. In spite of this, a comparative analysis of the respective methods of citation between the philosophical and rhetorical works would certainly be a fruitful area of study for any scholar interested in Cicero's treatment of the *Annales*. Moreover, a study which examines the differing methods by which authority is constructed when citing the *Annales* and the dramatic works would certainly be equally worthwhile.

Cicero is a meticulous writer, and we can expect that he picks every quotation deliberately. This leads me to my final point. I acknowledge that I have made some bold claims about Cicero's construction of Ennius' authority, and I also understand the reality that not all of Cicero's readers would have read the entirety of his corpus, and so it is possible that to many of them the trends I have pointed out will have gone unnoticed. However, given Cicero's fastidiousness, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that he characterises Ennius in the way I have argued. It does, however, seem quite unreasonable to suggest that Cicero does not create a persona of Ennius over multiple works, given that in presenting Ennius as a transmitter of Roman tradition, the three main areas are covered: history, religious belief, and religious practice.

No ancient author has had as profound an impact on modern perceptions of another ancient author that Cicero has had on Ennius. While the accusations of crudeness, roughness, and lack of polish that were hurled by the Augustan poets are inevitably present when we consider the reception of Ennius, it is Cicero's presentation of the *Annales* as a valid historical text with an author who was for generations known as the *summus poeta* that takes precedence. Furthermore, while we commonly believe – often at the expense of Ennius' dramatic works – that the *Annales* is his greatest achievement, this too is a result of Cicero's influence on literary history. The depictions of Ennius in the philosophical works altered his audience's perception of Ennius, and have endured to affect the way that modern scholars regard both poet and poem. That Cicero took lines from the *Annales* and used them for his own purposes is undeniable, and there can be no doubt that Cicero is a primary reason for Ennius' legacy. Despite Cicero's use and manipulation of Ennius' character and work, there is an indisputable esteem that exists in every instance of authority-construction. In this thesis I have hoped to shed light on one of the most remarkable literary relationships of the classical world.

Appendix

Table of Frequencies: Verb Use.

	Philosophical		Rhetorical		Speeches		Letters	
	Named ²⁵⁹	Ambig.	Named	Ambig.	Named	Ambig.	Named	Ambig.
<i>Narro</i>	2							
<i>Fingo</i>	1							
<i>Dico</i>	4	1	2	1				
<i>Persequor</i>	1							
<i>Comparo</i>	1							
<i>Aio</i>	1					1		
<i>Scribo</i>	1		1					
<i>Appello</i>	2			1				
<i>Audio</i>	1							
<i>Inquam</i>			1	1			1	
<i>Glorior</i>				1				
<i>Loquor</i>				1				
<i>Sum (est)</i> ²⁶⁰	2							
N/A	3					1		
Total:	19	2	4	5 ²⁶¹		2	1	

²⁵⁹ “Named” quotations refer to those which are specifically labelled as belonging to Ennius.

“Ambiguous” quotations are those for which the citation-introduction does not feature a name; this category also includes those citations which are not labelled, but for which context makes the author clear (namely, *Brut.* 71 and 76, which are attributed to Ennius at *Brut.* 75).

²⁶⁰ *Est* does not occur on its own, but in conjunction with the term *apud Ennium*, which itself is used with both the *Annales* and the tragedies.

²⁶¹ At *Brut.* 76 both *dico* and *inquit* are used: the first introduces the content of the quotation, while the latter is used at the citation itself: *sed ipse dicit cur id faciat: ‘scripsere’ inquit ‘alii rem vorsibus’*. I have included them both because each is active in introducing the quotation.

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